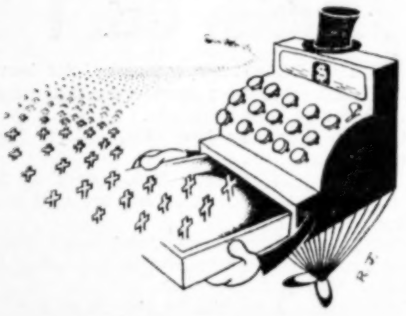
NATIONAL GUARDIAN
5 cents
the progressive newsweekly
Vol. 4, No. 47 NEW YORK, N. Y., SEPTEMBER 11, 1952

WAR & PEACE

27 months of war in Korea: dead mount, old parties mum

AN EVACUATION HOSPITAL, Western Front, Korea, Sept. 6 (AP)—The wounded soldier looked up from his cot with sad, weary eyes and said softly: "It was slaughter." The youth lay quiet but pain-racked in a hospital filled with casualties flowing down from Bunker Hill, where Chinese troops hit in darkness yesterday morning. His arm was shattered by mortar shrapnel.

N. Y. Herald Tribune, *Sept. 7.*



THIS was the situation of one American voter (he had thousands of companions) as the 1952 Presidential campaign opened in earnest. Up the country went GOP candidate Eisenhower, sounding more and more like a Tom Dewey whose voice had changed from tenor to baritone. Down the country went Democratic candidate Stevenson, wise-cracking his way out of pointed questions with the flair of a Jimmy Walker; lifting (for the press photographers) a shoe with a hole in the sole—as convincing as the hole in Fleur Cowles' defunct **Flair** magazine.

THE THIRD VOICE: But another candidate was thinking tbout the wounded boy in the evac hospital. He was the Progressive Party's Vincent Hallinan who, in a nationwide TV program last Saturday (see p. 5), called for an immediate cease-fire in Korea—and settle the prisoner-of-war issue later. There was good reason for his demand: figures

(Continued on Page 3)

U.N. DAY
국제연합일

United Nations photo

To be celebrated with fireworks or napalm?

For Koreans, bombed daily by the "UN" Air Force, the UN Day sign with doves of peace—pasted on a Korean city wall—must evoke odd emotions. For our European allies, worried about the loss of their sons, U. S. chief of staff Gen. Collins had reassuring words last week. He said that U. S. atomic weapons would reduce the need for manpower in Western Europe. They help reduce manpower too.

POLITICS

Adlai and the General get silent treatment in their debut before the farmers of Midwest

TO the Natl. Plowing Contest on a 1,000-acre tract near Kasson, Minn., came on Saturday some 100,000 farm people who (N. Y. **Times**, 9/7)

> . . . "looked over" a lot of farm machinery and farming techniques and, almost incidentally, two Presidential candidates.

The **Times** reported Democratic candidate Stevenson's reception as "mixed . . . crowds gathered to look at him but few had anything to say." It described the applause given Republican candidate Eisenhower as

> . . . in most instances feeble. . . . There was absolute silence when he delivered his fierce attack upon the Brannan plan.

The paper's reporter asked two farmers for their impressions. "A good day for plowing," said Martin Cummins of Lewiston, O. Henry Bendenhurst of Blooming Prairie, Minn.,

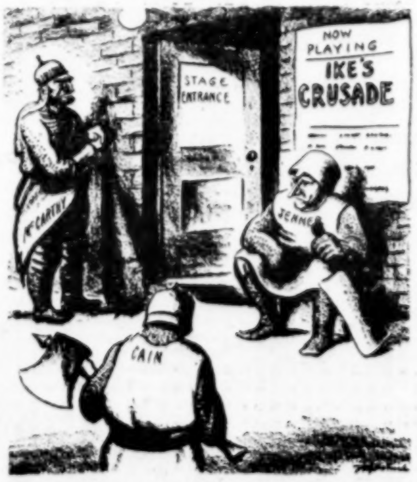
> . . . looked out across the field where tile for draining low farmland was being laid. "That's mighty pretty tile," he said.

As previously on civil rights, foreign policy and labor laws, the two candidates' speeches on farm policy left only in question who could run the same program better—or worse. Eisenhower came out for a guarantee to farmers of "the same protection as the present law" (90% of parity prices for farm products). Stevenson had the same thing to offer; each accused the other's party of trying to hoax farmers.

CREATION PROBLEM: The crowds that turned out to see and hear the Republicans' general in his swing through the South (audience of 100,000 in six cities in two days) alarmed some Democrats, although veteran commentators doubted if it presaged any Dixie political "miracle." There was, as the **Times'** Arthur Krock noted, "a curious interest in Eisenhower in his new role," and an "excessive admiration for a wartime hero." On Saturday Louisiana's Gov. Lennon endorsed Eisenhower; Krock named Louisiana, Florida, S. Carolina, Texas and Virginia as states where a Republican "miracle" was barely possible.

The general gingerly took up the civil rights issue, declaring in Tampa (**NYT**, 9/4) that

> . . . the promise of the Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal must be made a fact, but he did not go into the specific details of how he would carry this out.



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

MEMBERS OF THE CAST

In Chicago Negro Congressional candidate Edgar Brown asked Eisenhower if he would name a Negro to his cabinet; he replied he would

> ". . . very much like to . . . if you can find someone whose appointment would give reassurance to the great body of . . . the Negro race."

"CRYSTAL CLEAR": Though hazy on how to "create men equal," Eisenhower in Philadelphia (where newsreels estimated the crowd coming out to see him at well over 100,000) itemized a 10-point peace plan to avert "future Koreas," offering no solution for the present one. It called for:

> - "An administration we ourselves can trust";
> - Alliances that would endure "long after the need for our dollars has passed";
> - "Liberation of enslaved people . . . but only by peaceful means";
> - A strong U. S., a strong UN;
> - "Rooting out those who would betray";
> - "Imaginative and practical use of every other means for preventing war."

He came out against "isolation," said:

> "We will make it crystal clear that there is no such thing as American imperialism."

REPEAL ANTAGONISM: Gov. Stevenson, heading westward, clearly had the edge on the general in eloquence but left as many doors open for every position he took. While Eisenhower was for amending but retaining the Taft-Hartley Act, Stevenson came out for repeal but said:

> "I don't say everything in the Act is wrong. I don't think it is a 'slave labor' law."

A substitute law would be based on these principles, he said: labor, recognized as "responsible representatives . . . must conform to standards of fair conduct"; "outlaw unfair bargaining practices by companies and unions"; reject labor injunctions; find new methods for settling "national emergency disputes." Stevenson added:

> "The greatest hope for industrial peace is not in laws but in private agreements. . . . We are talking ourselves into a kind of class hatred. And there can't be class hatred or antagonisms in a healthy democracy."

Though his labor policy seemed vague, one part of it at least was demonstrated by his supporter Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) whose subcommittee is inquiring into "communism" in unions. For Humphrey the chief problem is how to refuse rights to unions in which the membership, despite all efforts to dissuade them, persistently vote into office a leadership called "red" by government agencies.

PEACE SHADOW-BOXING: On foreign policy Stevenson said he would "never fear" to negotiate with the U. S. S. R. and, making the best of the general's crusade speech of the week before:

> "Action for action's sake is the last resort of mentally and morally exhausted men."

Though compared with Eisenhower's call to "liberation" (before he was obliged to add the word "peaceful") Stevenson's position seemed "liberal," he remained far to the right of Truman's 1948 promises (all unfulfilled). Truman then came out flatly against Taft-Hartley, called it a "slave-labor" law, offered to meet Stalin, specifically projected sending Chief Justice Vinson to see him. Calling Stevenson's picture of readiness to negotiate with Moscow "nonsense," Walter Millis commented in the N. Y. **Herald Tribune** (9/5):

> Neither American party today is really ready to negotiate. . . . Perhaps the U. S. will really have to face this issue two or five or ten years hence, and that may be a really painful moment. Today, the candidates are free to shadow-box with it, which in fact is about all they have been doing.

Conservative Negro leader Dr. Channing H. Tobias, discussing major party civil rights planks at a Natl. Urban League dinner last week, said they amounted to:

> ". . . eloquently stated general principles, carefully planned omissions and skillfully devised evasions, all woven together with such ambiguity as to mean all things to all men."

McCARRAN WALLOPED: In Nevada, voters read politicians a lesson. Witch-hunting Dem. Sen. Pat McCarran had

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y. Telephone: WOrth 4-1750.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S. and possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $2 a year. All other countries $3 a year. First class and air mail rates on request. Single copies 5c. Re-entered as second class matter March 17, 1950 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE *Editor* JOHN T. McMANUS *General Manager* JAMES ARONSON *Executive Editor*

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Vol. 4, No. 47 178 SEPTEMBER 11, 1952

RENEW YOUR SUB NOW!

'52 elections are coming. Put your subscription in good standing—be all set to follow the progressive campaigns.

Your address-plate (on reverse of this box) tells the month and year your sub expires. "9-52" means Sept., 1952—THIS MONTH.

To renew quickly:

JUST CLIP OUT THIS BOX, AIRMAIL TODAY WITH $2.

If yours is a new sub, please fill out the following and mail with $2 for a full year.

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REPORT TO READERS

4-for-$1 deadline Oct. 1

FROM EVERY CORNER OF THE COUNTRY, subscriptions have been pouring in since mid-summer in response to our offer of four special campaign subs for $1 (see page 12).

Far out in front is California, where San Diego alone has added more than 1,000 new readers.

In terms of activity, Connecticut is next. Bridgeport alone has tripled its readership since the beginning of August and the rest of the state is now trooping along.

In New York, one Brooklyn neighborhood added more than 400 in a few weeks' campaign, and the rest of the big town is coming to life now that Labor Day is past.

Activity in Illinois, Ohio, Minnesota, Michigan, New Jersey and Pennsylvania is now beginning to add to the total, which has taxed our staff's ability to keep up with the job of processing the new subs.

And, of course, our banner state of Montana shows its usual steady gains, as always throughout the year.

BUT WITH ALL THE ACTIVITY, the total response is not nearly what it might be if every GUARDIAN reader undertook to add at least $1 worth of new readers while the offer lasts.

Thus far, we have increased our readership by some 20 percent during the drive. Yet an earnest Four-for-One effort by every present subscriber NOW could double or triple GUARDIAN readership in a fortnight.

WE SAY THIS in the hope of stimulating a real response by all hands in the next two weeks—since we shall have to call a halt to the 4-for-$1 offer on Oct. 1. The reason is that the processing of subscriptions sometimes requires as much as two weeks from the date they are mailed in to us, and subscriptions obtained after Oct. 1 will have little chance to reach recipients effectively before the end of the election campaign.

So, the deadline is Oct. 1. Between now and then—but preferably right this minute—why not clip out the blank on page 12 and get the GUARDIAN started to four of your friends for the whole rest of '52?

—THE EDITORS

THE MAIL BAG

Twin phoneys

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The "lesser of two evils" mythology has been a natural outgrowth of the phoney "two party system" of which some Americans seem so proud. Until the "two party system" is exposed in every way for the hoax that it is, the people's voice thru a third party will not be heard. The GUARDIAN has certainly revealed the big-business control over both Dem. and Rep. parties, especially in its articles concerning Eisenhower, Stevenson, and the conventions. With more such information, we GUARDIAN readers will become more and more effective in exposing the phoney "lesser of two evils" ideology to our fellow workers. Yours for a people's party with Hallinan and Bass.

J. Brown

Peace in Texas

McKINNEY, TEX.

I have just returned from our PP state pre-convention session in Dallas. It was far better attended than any we have had in Texas. The GUARDIAN was highlighted by a special report of the committee on education. It was pointed out that this PP convention and the GUARDIAN are the only forces that emphasize Peace in Texas.

I am an old age pensioner. Will send you my list of four for campaign introductory subs when I get my next check.

T. L. Huggins

Don't be fooled twice

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Since this is the Great Year of Decision in America, the question is: Shall the people run government or shall government run the people?

Both old parties had a rough time building their platforms, because they had to find very thin termite-infested planks with which to build them—so they would completely disappear from their sight immediately after election. They had also to contain the double-talk and the weasel words to fool the people and catch their votes.

Now compare that performance with the Progressive Party. At its convention there was no trouble. It found that the 1948 platform was just as good today as it was four years ago because it was built by the working people with good, sound, heavy planks with no termites. Our Presidential candidate Vincent Hallinan recently said: "Fool me once, shame on you; fool me twice, shame on me."

Walter Hurd

Call of the mountains

CHESTERTOWN, N. Y.

Enclosed is $46.11, proceeds from a spontaneous session of the Adirondack Free Press Society, with best wishes and hopes for a bigger (though hardly better) GUARDIAN.

S. F.

The basic teaching

SANTURCE, PUERTO RICO

I have read Mrs. Fryer's letter with interest and concern. She says her oldest son was just shipped to Japan to "feed the wolves of war." I hope her son will not be killed and will return to her unharmed. On that he takes his chances.

But he does not take chances on the other side of the same coin. He will kill. He will kill other young men of his own age who are really fighting for their homeland. Who can say that of the American soldier? He will throw napalm gas and drop bombs and germ "duds." He will be obliged, if he is a "good soldier," to kill mothers who love their sons as much as his mother loves him. How can his conscience let him do such things? Even when it is only paper work behind the lines, it is the same thing. I beg Mrs. Fryer to teach her other four sons that war itself is hateful and that we will have no part in it, that many a brave man has spent years in jail rather than commit such crimes.

M. C. S.

How crazy can you get dept.

WASHINGTON (AP) — What makes Russians laugh is an official U. S. government secret.

A Harvard psychologist, Dr. Raymond Bauer, reported yesterday that an American research study of Soviet humor, undertaken since World War II, has been "classified," that is, placed on the government's hush-hush list.

Bauer reported to the 60th annual meeting of the American psychological association. He did not say who made the study or which government agency classified it.

—Worcester (Mass.) **Telegram**, Sept. 4

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: J. B. Sumner, Worcester, Mass.

Stock Exchange story

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I crave a profit quick
So tell me broker Slick
Gambling with life and bread:
Which shares will spill the most blood,
National Steel or National Lead?

Jefferson Patrick

Playing cops

HOUSTON, TEX.

According to the **AP** Aug. 27, U. S. battle casualties in Korea reached 116,252, an increase of 879 in a week.

Why should American troops be used to resist aggression in all parts of the world? In my opinion this question can be easily answered in the negative by the application of a little common sense. We should not undertake to stop any aggression anywhere until we can consistently define the word.

If the North Koreans were aggressors when they crossed the 38th parallel, then we were the aggressors when we crossed it. Why do we single out Russia against whom we complain? Why do we not demand that England get out of Hong Kong, Malaya and Egypt? Why not demand that France get out of Indo-China and Morocco?

If we are going to police the world, why play favorites? But we cannot police the world. For each American there are approximately 16 other people. To think that one American can police 16 other people scattered in all parts of the world is just to indulge in a pipe dream.

Chas. Ginsburg

Chicago today

CHICAGO, ILL.

Just a few words to let you in on what's going on in Chicago:

1. A crime-fighting commission recently established here has been seriously handicapped by the refusal of the mayor and the city council to allow police incomes to be exposed. We in Chicago know that our policemen have amassed fortunes amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars due to graft and the daily collection of bribes.

2. There is an all-night parking law which forces thousands of Chicagoans who live on arterial streets to pay a $7.00 fine each night they park their car in front of their homes. This law was originally introduced to facilitate snow removal during the winter, but the income from parking fines has been so lucrative that the mayor and the city council have refused to revoke the law during the summer.

3. With a critical housing shortage still plaguing the city, and rents at an all-time high, the city council has severely handicapped the working people of Chicago by recommending a 10-15% increase in rent.

4. Crime and graft are on the increase. Chicagoans are shocked by the mounting number of murders in their city, such as the political slaying of alderman Charles Gross and the gang slaying of Theodore Roe.

Chicago's mayor Kennelly and the majority of the aldermen have ignored the alliance of the political bosses and the mob racketeers. The people need a great third party—the PROGRESSIVE PARTY to clean up America's second largest city.

Irving Drobny

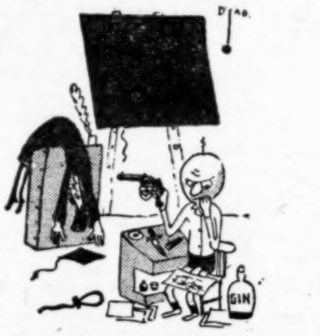
Harvest—no help

CORVALLIS, MONT.

We are haying and harvesting. Apple crop is near ready. No labor; all the boys, young men over in Korea. For what? Targets for profits in war, government public servants salting down our tax dollars to kill off our young manhood thousands of miles from our shores. Did those Korean people ever step on our United States' toes? No. China? No. Other people? No.

Why are we Christians so afraid to speak up? We are not sinners. Why should we let sinners throw obstacles in our way as we fight to end war for all time to bring about all the good things God has in store for us, His children?

Mrs. Oscar C. Haugen



Dyad in Daily Worker, London

"Sorry teacher, but these American comics are getting me all on edge."

Moscow gold

CLEVELAND, O.

I enclose a refund check received today from the Russian Embassy's Information Bulletin account following the imposition of the Wall St.-inspired ban. It's too small to be labeled "Moscow Gold," and anyway it originated from my emaciated pocketbook. Maybe you can use it to issue a couple of election-period subs.

L. C. D.

Giving us the Index

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The next guy who "Controls aren't needed" retorts
His head from his torso I'm going to sever.
Note: The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports:
"Current cost of living index highest ever."

Alexander Freide

Koreanize

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Time for thinking over a few words from Scott Nearing in his **World Events** (Summer, 1952): "Will not the dictionaries used by the next generation contain the verb koreanize—'to reduce to ashes and rubble; to blot out; to obliterate; to destroy utterly; to annihilate, as in the Korean War of 1950-52'?"

The abhorrent mark of Cain indelibly will stay upon those who, from distant lands, started and keep going this war with new criminal weapons of horror such as napalm bombs.

A. Garcia Diaz

The same Robeson

SUN VALLEY, CALIF.

May I quote from **Life** magazine: "Hail Robeson, the renowned . . . as Shakespeare's greatest Othello.

"Today's great announcement, for lovers of the articulate arts, is the recording of the renowned Paul Robeson in the production of Shakespeare's 'Othello' . . . the role Robeson has made memorable, with the outstanding dramatic interpretation of all times.

"Fame such as few men have known in a lifetime has made Robeson a living legend, the idol of millions, whose athletic, academic and artistic honors are unprecedented in our time. Rutgers 4-letter man, All-American football player, Phi Beta Kappa, A. B., A. M., LL. B., L. H. D., the versatile Robeson's resonant bass-baritone finds fluent tongue in Russian, Gaelic, Chinese, and the Latin languages.

"'Othello' is a classic climax to Robeson's long list of dramatic triumphs, a recording that will perpetuate his genius for generations. Guest soloist with the Philharmonic-Symphony of New York and The Philadelphia Orchestra, his concert appearances, both here and abroad, have been ovations . . . ovations you'll share when you thrill to his recordings of the stirring 'Songs of Free Men' . . ."

The above is from a full-page advertisement for Columbia Records in the Feb., 1945, issue of **Life**.

Every word is true. True then and true now. Paul Robeson hasn't changed. Columbia Records and **Life**, unfortunately, have changed.

Thor d'Pardee

Neutrality

YARMOUTH, MAINE

The neutrality of Jehovah's Witinesses raises important questions. This war no doubt has kindled God's anger all over the world because of mass cremation alive of men, women and children—superseding Hitler. As believers in the WORD, are you for or against it?

Criminal fascism is attempting to take over the world by using U. S. military might and to destroy democracy by passing laws against it. If tomorrow democracy is fighting with its back to the wall, can you afford to be only observers from the side-lines?

Abraham Lincoln said the government belongs to the people who inhabit the land. We collectively are partners in determining what our government shall be, and must share its responsibilities as well as its benefits. God will assist in His way, but the people must carry the cross.

Chester E. Thompson

The American struggle for peace

GUARDIAN readers seeking peace literature to put in the hands of the suspicious or unconvinced should acquaint themselves with the 20-page pamphlet **The American Struggle for Peace**, prepared and issued by the Palo Alto Peace Club (315 Middlefield Rd., Palo Alto, Calif.; 10c each, 12 for $1, 100 for $6).

Stemming from the research efforts of a small but outstanding community group, this pamphlet tells the story of the peace movement through more than a century of our history; simply and soberly explains the issues today; lists the great variety of peace groups now active, of many political and religious shadings; asks the reader: "Which will you join?"

C. B.

IS THERE A LESSER EVIL?

Adlai Stevenson and Barney Baruch

By Arthur Dlugoff

ON two successive days last month, a busy Governor and an equally busy General took time out to visit an elderly businessman in his mid-Manhattan apartment. On Aug. 29 Adlai Stevenson dropped in to see Bernard M. Baruch to discuss "general economic questions." On Aug. 30 Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower called on his "very old dear friend"; they too discussed "economics."

The two visits not only illustrated the parallel paths being taken by the two Presidential candidates, but recalled to mind some significant highlights of Baruch's career as a backstage Big Business manipulator of U. S. politics.

Tied to Morgan-Guggenheim metal interests, Baruch is one of the most potent spokesmen for the Morgan financial empire since World War I. Ferdinand Lundberg's **America's 60 Families** lists his fortune among the 60. A generous contributor to the Democratic Party, he was a key figure in financing the campaigns of Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry Truman and James F. Byrnes (for Gov. of S. Carolina). His disciples in and out of government are many and powerful. He avoids public office, but Carter Field's **Baruch, Park Bench Statesman** quotes him as saying (p. 281):

> ". . . I know who the men are who are capable of doing the various jobs, and they would work for me!"

NAZI DEMAGOGY: In the early 1930's Eisenhower met Baruch through the Industrial War College and helped him write his book **Taking the Profits Out of War.** Carter Field records (p. 212) that in the '20's Baruch, after a correspondence with Owen D. Young—then General Electric (Morgan) board chairman and Dawes Plan (German reparations) drafter, now a director of Morgan's American & Foreign Power Co. and N.Y. Life Insurance Co.—financed a Johns Hopkins lecture course with these topics: "Taking the profit out of war, and the necessity of planning for war in time of peace."

BERNARD M. BARUCH
They work for the boss

Baruch—most noted today as author of the U. S. atomic energy control plan which in effect demands Soviet capitulation to U. S. domination of the field—is an old master of the type of demagogy which Eisenhower and Stevenson are just beginning to learn. As Supreme Court Justice Jackson pointed out at the Nuremberg trials of Nazi war criminals, the Nazis used to proclaim:

> "In view of the enormous sacrifice of life and property demanded of a nation by every war, personal enrichment through war must be regarded as a crime against the nation. We demand therefore the ruthless confiscation of all war profits." (The Nuremberg Case, by Robert H. Jackson, pp. 38-9.)

"ONE OF THE BOYS": Early in 1933 a young lawyer named Adlai Stevenson was taken along on a trip to Washington by George N. Peek, pres. of Deere & Co., farm machinery manufacturers (Morgan-Chicago finance group). Peek, a Republican, had served under Baruch as War Industries Board commissioner of finished products in World War I. Writing about Baruch's wire-pulling to get Gen. Hugh S. Johnson appointed head of NRA, biographer Field (pp. 250, 154) adds:

> . . . Another of his boys, George Peek, was Administrator of the AAA. . . . [Both Peek and Johnson were] Baruch's close lieutenants in his campaign to keep this country prepared for war emergencies and in many of his other activities. . . .

During World War II, Stevenson, while serving with Navy Secy. Knox (publisher of the Chicago **Daily News,** organ of big Chicago banks and top Morgan corporations in the Midwest), got to know investment banker Ferdinand Eberstadt, another Baruch "boy." In 1945 Eberstadt released a report to then Navy Secy. Forrestal (Dillon, Read & Co.) calling for unification of the armed forces. Stevenson aided him in his work. (Recently, in trying to promote a $400 million defense project for the depressed southern section of Illinois, Stevenson told a reporter—**N. Y. Post,** 9/2—that "a friend of mine, Ferdinand Eberstadt, is working on trying to get inter-state financing on it.")

"IMMENSE" WAR PROFITS: In 1945 Stevenson moved over to the State Dept. where he was second asst. to Secy. Stettinius (U. S. Steel-Morgan), later to Secy. Byrnes (Newmont-Morgan)—another member of the Baruch inner circle, who during World War II was War Mobilization Director. In Sept., 1946, former War Production Board Donald M. Nelson revealed that throughout the war the heads of the Army (Stimson and Patterson), Navy (Knox and Forrestal) and Byrnes tried to replace him with Baruch and hand over WPB control to the military. In World War I Baruch, while not owning stocks in companies benefitting from war orders, had

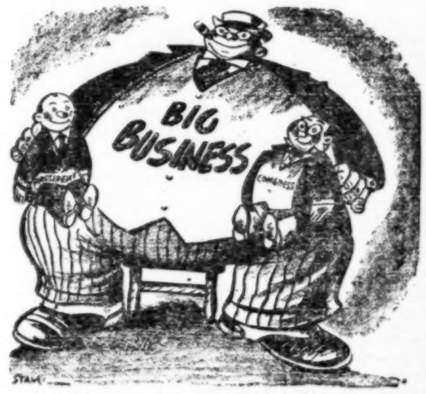
> . . . routed the lion's share of business into the hands of interests that had been responsible for his rise to financial eminence before the war and that have been associated with him, to his immense personal profit, since the war. (America's 60 Families, p. 193.)

After the last war Baruch with his banker friend John Hancock (Lehman Bros. partner) again helped "free enterprise" survive with the War Contract Settlement Act which they drafted, enabling big business to collect claims against the government without prior investigation. Companies collected millions while any government agency suspecting fraud could only stand by helplessly until the contract was consummated and all the vital evidence gone.

ILLINOIS NUGGET: Baruch is indebted to Byrnes for helping clear his name before the Nye Committee investigating war profits. In Feb., 1946, Byrnes told Baruch he (Baruch) was to head the U. S. delegation to the UN Atomic Energy Committee. Baruch accepted only on conditions: "I want my gang," or nothing (William L. White, **Portrait of a Citizen,** p. 109). Baruch's gang: John Hancock, Herbert Bayard Swope (brother of GE's Gerard Swope), Fred Searles Jr. (Morgan-Newmont Mining), and Stevenson's friend, investment banker Eberstadt.

It was Byrnes who in July, 1947, told Col. Jacob Arvey, boss of the corrupt Cook County (Ill.) machine, there was a "gold nugget" in Illinois. "What do you mean, nugget?" asked Arvey. "I mean Adlai Stevenson," replied Byrnes.

(NEXT WEEK: Stevenson, Harriman and the press).



The AFL Leader, Indiana
PLAN FOR NOVEMBER

Korean war now in 27th month

(Continued from Page 1)

at the end of August, as the Korean "police action" rounded out its 26th month, told an appalling story:

According to U. S. reports, casualties on the UN side stood at 384,609, including 116,655 Americans (20,506 dead). Since the truce talks began, U. S. casualties totalled 38,030 (7,330 dead). According to the Chinese **HSINHUA** agency (8/21) 129,945 Americans, 7,445 British, 1,181 Canadians, 462 Turkish troops "have been killed, wounded or captured in the course of the second year's war alone." Between December, 1951, when discussions over the POW issue began, and July, 1952, **HSINHUA** (8/27) reported 45,634 U. S. casualties—2.3 times the number of N. Korean prisoners whom the Americans refuse to repatriate.

Since the truce talks began, the N. Koreans and Chinese have accused the U. S. of repeated violation of the truce talk zone, conscienceless napalm bombings of civilians, use of bacteriological warfare, slaughter of N. Korean and Chinese POWs, provocative strafing of Chinese territory.

TRUCE SITE FLIGHTS: The **New China News Agency** (6/30) reported ten air and ground attacks by U. S. forces of the Kaesong neutral zone during the preceding 11 months, five air attacks on the Panmunjom area, once on June 5. On June 14, the U. S. command admitted the June 5 violation (**NYT 6/15**).

RAIDS: Peking charged (8/22):

> On May 25, 300 American warplanes bombed and strafed the civilian quarters of Chongjin City; on June 17, 200 planes bombed Chongpyong; on July 11 and Aug. 4 they bombed Pyongyang; from July 11 to 31, American planes dropped 18,000 napalm bombs on a number of cities.

The napalm bombings have been admitted by the U. S. command and shrugged off as traditional warfare. Their ghastly results have been described by many eye-witnesses.

In March Britain's **Manchester Guardian** quoted from a book by Rene Cutforth, BBC correspondent in Korea:

> In front of us a curious figure was standing, a little crouched, legs straddled, arms held out from his sides. He had no eyes, and the whole of his body, nearly all of which was visible through tatters of burnt rags, was covered with a hard, black crust speckled with yellow pus. A Korean woman by his side began to speak, and the interpreter said: "He has to stand, sir, cannot sit or lie."
>
> He had to stand because he was no longer covered with a skin but with a crust like crackling which broke easily. . . . I thought of the hundreds of villages reduced to ashes which I personally had seen and realized the sort of casualty list which must be mounting up. . . .

GERM WARFARE: Though vigorously denied by the U. S., these charges nevertheless have gained much credence—especially in Asia. The neutralist Indian delegate to the Intl. Red Cross conference in Toronto in July was impressed enough to call for an impartial investigation. The U. S. has never presented scientific rebuttal to the charges.

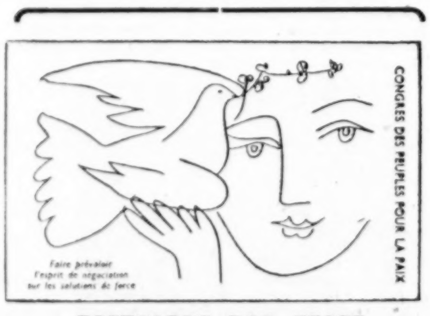
CHINA FLIGHTS: On several occasions flights over Chinese territory have been denied, later admitted by the U. S. According to **HSINHUA** (8/28):

> Between July 25 and Aug. 25, 172 groups of American aircraft, in a total of 822 flights, intruded over Antung City, Penki, Hsinpin, Chingyuan, Sifeng, Chian, Tunghua, Antung, Huanjen, Fengchen . . . and Hunchun County of Kirin Province.

THE COVERAGE: American reporters have declared openly that exaggeration, distortion and concealment have kept the true facts of the war from the American people. The Chicago **Daily News'** Keyes Beech reported (11/7/51) that the U. S. press had been kept in the dark about the truce talks while the Communist press had been "in some respects so tellingly accurate it makes a self-respecting newspaperman wince." The N. Y. **Times'** George Barrett wrote in the same vein (11/12/51). Last month the **UP's** Robert Miller, addressing newspaper editors in Nevada, gave examples of manufactured and distorted stories from Korea. Some examples:

- On Sept. 3, New York papers carried scare headlines about N. Koreans shooting down U. S. airmen who had bailed out of damaged planes. In Tokyo Lt. Col. Tatum denied the story. The Portland **Express** reported that, according to U. S. Air Force officers,

> . . . there exists a gentleman's agreement between the two sides at war under which neither [side] shoots at an airman who has bailed out and is parachuting to earth, a helpless target.


CONGRES DES PEUPLES POUR LA PAIX
Faire prévaloir l'esprit de negociation sur les solutions de force

POSTCARDS FOR PEACE

"The spirit of negotiation must prevail over force" is the slogan on peace postcards for which Picasso has contributed this new drawing. The cards are now being circulated through France by the hundreds of thousands in connection with the Peoples' Congress for Peace to be held in Vienna in December. On the other side of the card is a space for addressing it to a representative or political leader, and this printed statement: "I approve the holding of the Peoples' Congress for Peace which will bring together on collectively defined objectives people of all persuasions, organizations of all kinds desiring disarmament, security and national independence, free choice of their way of life and relaxation of world tensions."

- **UP** staff writer Frederick C. Painton described eloquently (8/13) the terrific fight for strategic Bunker Hill, Correspondent Alan Winnington wrote (**HSINHUA** 8/26):

> Now that military security is no longer involved, it is possible to debunk Bunker Hill. . . . The hill itself is not named on any maps. It is an American position which is of importance to them . . . but is dominated by the heights towering above it which are firmly in the hands of the Chinese. . . . The actions of the Chinese troops against this hill have been on a minor scale.

NO TRUCE IN VIEW: In the 27th month of war, with no truce in sight, the U. S. continued its talk-tough, get-tough policy. Last week it made another saturation bombing on the N. Korean capital Pyongyang, blasted Korean oil works near Soviet Siberia. American Army and Navy officers were free with atom bomb threats and wipe-'em-off-the-face-of-the-earth boasts.

In more sober fashion in an article Aug. 15 to commemorate the seventh anniversary of the liberation of Korea from the Japanese by the Russians, N. Korean premier Kim Il Sung wrote:

> If the American and British imperialists torpedo the negotiations, if they continue the war and extend its area, the results will be even more inglorious for them than those they have already reaped in Korea.

From San Francisco, E. A. Mignacco wrote to the **Wall Street Journal** (8/11):

> My crystal ball tells me the American people would overwhelmingly vote down (possibly as much as ten to one) our policy of foreign wars and gifts of billions if given a chance to vote directly on these two issues. . . . It is a comparativey negligible number indeed who voluntarily go overseas to fight. . . . The most sickening aspect of it all is the distorted picture the people are fed back home.

(Continued on Page 4)

(Continued from Page 3)

U. S. turning Japan into military base

THERE was growing evidence last week of a link between the continuation of the Korean War and U. S. policy in Japan, which has been enjoying a "boom." But the boom, according to the **N. Y. Herald Tribune** (8/16)

> . . . is completely artificial, depending as it does on American contracts for Korean war supplies and the temporary presence in Japan of free-spending American troops. If peace should come in Korea, thoughtful Japanese ask, "What then?" . . . It is inevitable that public opinion in Japan should . . . grow in favor of trade with Communist China.

But the U. S. continued to block Japan's natural trade outlet. The Soviet publication **Red Star** declared, according to N. Y. **Times'** Moscow correspondent (9/3), that the U. S.

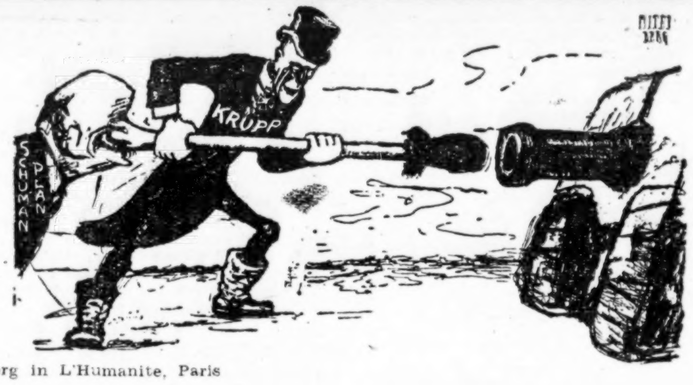
> . . . was speeding the tempo of rearmament of Japan so as to turn her into the main base for aggressive operations in the Far East . . . [and] was planning to create an "international Asiatic army" of 15 to 17 divisions comprised of Japanese, Chinese Nationalist and Philippine troops.

DESTROYERS & PLANES: According to **Reuters** (8/14), the Japanese press carried stories—"which the government would neither confirm nor deny"—to the effect that

> . . . the new National Security Board has asked shipbuilders for bids on destroyers up to 2,000 tons with a maximum speed of 30 knots . . . as the nation was awaiting the outcome of a Socialist Party suit against the government, charging that the 1946 constitution has been violated by budget provisions earmarking the equivalent of $510,000,000 for rearmament.

The Tokyo newspaper **Mainichi Shimbun** admitted that the National Police Reserve was "the cornerstone of the new Japanese army"—as the U. S. S. R. and China have long claimed. It also reported that the Yoshida government has started to rebuild the Japanese air force with three-month aeronautical courses for members of the police reserve "to make good use of the 100 aircraft the U. S. will shortly 'lease' to Japan." **HSINHUA** (8/28) reported that Japanese aircraft manufacturers are prepared to resume production; that fighter-plane designer Itogawa Hideo will soon go to the U. S. to study the aircraft industry.

Premier Yoshida, facing mounting criticism of his policies in the Diet, called for new elections Oct. 1.



Mitelberg in L'Humanite, Paris

TUC vote fails to hide British revolt

AT the annual Trades Union Congress meeting at Margate, England, right-wing leaders managed to defeat the opposition to large-scale rearmament by means of the block voting system that fails to reflect rank-and-file sentiment. Under this method, the leadership casts the entire vote of the union, often regardless of the membership's attitude.

The rearamament vote—"in any case meaningless if the big metal unions fight for more wages" (**New Statesman & Nation, 9/6**)—was taken

> . . . after one of the most ill-ordered debates I have ever witnessed—a debate in which it was never clear what was really being discussed. . . . Right-wing spokesmen were determined that the issue should be confused.

However, a resolution condemning bacteriological warfare and urging the government to work for a ban on BW was passed. N. Y. **Times** correspondent Michael Hoffman, whose woefully biased reports included capsule dissertations on Marxism, said this was due to "an error in tactics" (**NYT, 9/3**). According to **NS&N** it was a sign of the "bitter taste" left with delegates by steam-rollering of the rearmament discussion just before.

Later the cleavage became apparent when the congress adopted what Hoffman called a

> . . . complicated . . . and ambiguous resolution [condemning] the Conservative Government's economic policy as leading back to poverty and unemployment [and rejecting] attempts to restrict justifiable wage increases necessary to ease the burden of rising living costs.

This was considered a victory for the advocates of "restraint," Hoffman said. But, he added, with 3,000,000 engineering workers demanding an across-the-board increase of $5.60 a week,

> . . . the majority of the organized workers whose delegates voted for "restraint" in this sense are, through their unions, engaged in negotiations for higher wages and, in some cases, are reaching the stage of action to enforce their claims (NYT, 9/5).

NATIONALIZATION IS OK'D: While block-voting in favor of rearmament, the TUC, despite desperate pleas from its leaders,

> . . . voted by a substantial majority . . . to demand a reversal of all denationalization of industry proposed by the Conservative Government, as well as extensive further nationalization if and when the Labour Party returns to power (NYT, 9/4).

Pointing out "the benefits of overall national management" Gordon Schaffer reported (**Reynolds News**, London, 8/24) that

> . . . nearly 300 companies and firms controlled by Britain's publicly-owned steel industry made 35 million pounds profit in 7½ months after setting aside an extra 5 million pounds for depreciation.

DOLLAR SUBSTITUTE: Last week the Bevanite wing of the Labour Party published former cabinet member Harold Wilson's pamphlet on British economic independence from the U. S., **In place of Dollars.** Wilson called for (**NYT, 9/5**):

> An all out drive to develop non-dollar sources of food and raw materials; freedom to trade with non-dollar areas, including Eastern Europe and the Far East; redistribution of the Atlantic arms burden, or unilateral reduction of Britain's rearmament program to a bearable level; extension of public ownership in industry; U. S. responsibility in world development [instead of] "the bombing of the Yalu River power stations [which] destroyed far more capital equipment in a single night than the U. S. is investing in the underprivileged areas in a whole year" (NYT, 9/5).

JOHN FOSTER DULLES
What a big boy am I!

Dulles plan worries Wall Street Journal

REPERCUSSIONS to the Dulles-Eisenhower foreign policy of "liberating" Russia's allies continued to mount. Under the heading "A Dangerous Crusade," the **Wall Street Journal** editorialized (9/2):

> For what this may do is to invite a war with Russia. It serves notice upon the Kremlin that no matter how it contains its ambitions, no matter how it should seek to work out a method of living together without war, that no matter how "moderate" it may find it practical to be—that no matter what it does, hereafter we will give it no peace. We are going to keep up the cold war forever—or until it erupts into a hot war. . . . To scream threats of fostered revolutions and unremitting strife is not the way of our democracy. And if it becomes our foreign policy it will embark upon a most dangerous crusade.

GERMANY ROLLS ON: West Germany continued to receive favorable treatment from the West. Headed by the astute banker Herman Abs, a German commission settled Germany's pre-war and post-war debts for some $3.5 billion; the substitution of dollars for gold reduced the debt by 40%. With an export rate of about $4 billion a year (**WSJ**, 9/4), Germany expects to pay its creditors not in cash but in service. This has been causing anxiety in Western Europe.

German Ruhr industrialists have said they will soon begin manufacturing light automatic weapons and other military equipment for NATO — the kind of weapons Germany mass-produced in World War II (**NYT**, 8/30).

On the heels of the restoration of the Krupp empire came news that Dr. Ernst Heinkel, former builder of German bombers and jet fighters, was discussing in Britain plans for making planes again (**NYT**, 9/3).

SPAIN GETS NASTY: The U. S. continued to woo Spain. But Franco, taking a cue from Washington's other anti-communist crusaders, turned out to be a difficult lover to please. The **Nation** reported (9/6) that because the U. S. considered Franco's demands exorbitant, **Arriba**, which in happy Hitler days looked forward to the hour "when the skyscrapers of New York would receive the full force of the glorious German aviation," now hoped for demolition of the plant of the mildly critical N. Y. **Times**, "that nest of Free Masons and Jews."

Chileans vote powder for Wall Street

The N.Y. **Times** commented (9/8) that

> . . . nationalism is fast taking its place with communism as a world-wide and destructive totalitarian movement against freedom and democracy.

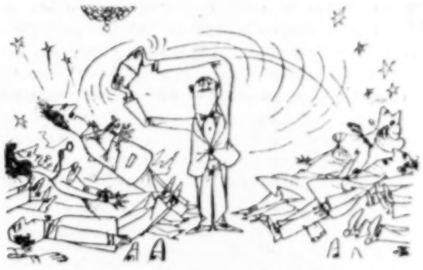
What provoked the editorial was the victory in Chile's Presidential elections of Gen. Carlos Ibanez, after a campaign in which he called for repudiation of the military pact with the U. S. and of "anti-subversive" laws which had outlawed but not weakened the Communist Party; resumption of diplomatic relations with the U. S. S. R. and trade with all countries in the world. He favored ultimate nationalization of Chile's copper, now largely U. S.-exploited.

Ibanez polled 46.7% of the total with 432,920 votes to 252,648 for the arch-conservative Liberal Party's candidate Arturo Matte-Lorrain; 183,783 for outgoing Pres. Gonzalez Videla's choice, the Radical Party's Pedro Enrique Alonso; 51,984 for Socialist Salvador Allende, supported by the Communists. Since his vote fell short of 51%, Congress will have to elect the President but was expected to follow the mandate.

HORSE & DRIVERS: Ibanez, aged 75, nicknamed "the horse" for his stubborn and maverick qualities, had observers guessing. While the **Times** worried, the **Wall St. Journal** cited U. S. mining company officials in Santiago as cheerfully recalling that Ibanez in his dictatorship (1927-1931) treated U. S. copper interests well, opened the way for U. S. capital in Chilean utilities. The paper said:

> They [U. S. businessmen] believe Chile needs American dollars too badly for Ibanez to take the chance of choking off the $200 million a year that the U. S. pays Chile for its copper.

Actually, how "the horse" feels is less important than the direction his drivers want to go. The Chilean people clearly voted against U. S. domination politically and economically, which caused the N. Y. **Times** to class their movement as "irrational and destructive" along with those in China, Iran, Egypt, S. Africa.



Vie Nuove, Rome
ACHESON COCKTAIL

WHOSE OIL? The Chilean blow to the State Dept. came on the heels of similar reverses in Bolivia, where a pro-nationalization administration was swept into power; in Ecuador, where a pro-U. S. regime was replaced with one far less secure; in Argentina, which last week announced a trade agreement with Poland; in Brazil, where Congress defeated all attempts by Pres. Vargas to open the way for foreign capital in the oil fields. Congress passed a law banning all private capital, Brazilian or foreign, from the oil industry, preserving all rights for a state monopoly. Existing grants to individuals to establish refineries were to be respected.

Pro-U. S. deputies called it a "Communist victory." The rest chanted: "O petroleo e nosso." (The oil is ours.)

The literary life

Fleur Cowles, assoc. editor of "Look" and "Quick" and former editor of "Flair," told us that "Flair" is now being published as an annual by Random House. "It will be a hard-bound book with a hole in the center," she said. ". . . We are introducing many new visual devices." The pages with holes in them flip over, and Mrs. Cowles said:

> "It's a mimicry of nature in which something you see really isn't what you see at all. As you flip the pages an owl turns out to be a moth which turns out to be butterfly, which turns out to be an eye of a woman."

Mrs. Cowles had just completed a trip to the Far East. She said:

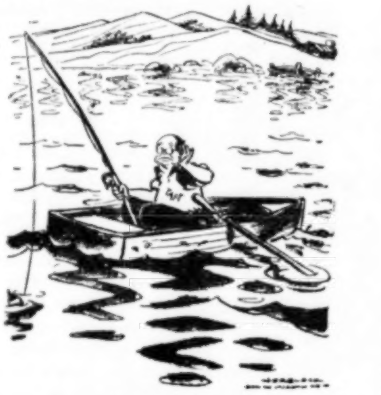
> "I went up to the front lines in Korea, and since I'd never been to war before it was a new experience for me. I was completely enchanted by it. It's tense and terrible and completely fascinating. Even the little children and women looked happy in Korea. . . . The entire area [of the Panmunjom truce site] is set off on four corners with bright pink balloons. To me it really looked as if someone like Braque had painted it."

—**N. Y. Herald Tribune (Paris edition), Aug. 18.**

Farmers give Adlai and Ike silence

(Continued from Page 1)

been running a smooth machine for decades. He had picked for the junior senatorship former Atty. Gen. Alan Bible who ran as McCarran's choice and an advocate of white supremacy. Against him in the Democratic primaries was unknown 31-year-old newspaperman Tom Mechling who stumped on street corners for FEPC and Taft-Hartley repeal, though he supported the Truman foreign policy. Mechling won 15,793 to 14,090 (with all but 11 precincts heard from). He will oppose Republican incumbent Sen. George W. Malone in November. Mechling said the vote was "a victory for the working people of Nevada."



Herblock in Washington Post

"Any calls for me to go whistle-stopping?"

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Hallinan-Bass on TV; Indiana on ballot

THE largest audience ever accorded a Negro woman in the U.S. watched and listened last Saturday afternoon to PP Vice-Presidential candidate Charlotta A. Bass over 180 radio stations and 75 TV channels. She and Presidential candidate Vincent Hallinan were granted a half-hour to make their acceptance speeches after a bitter legal fight for air time. (The two old parties plan a $4 million radio campaign.)

Hallinan told of himself and how he learned to fight first for Irish freedom (Eamon de Valera is his cousin) and then for Indian freedom:

> "I developed a deep anger against the attempts of white men to run the lives of the colored people of the world."

He presented the PP program of peace, security and freedom, then took up the "lost vote" argument:

> "If you want an end to the war in Korea and an enduring peace; if you want real security for yourself and your children; if you want an end to every form of discrimination and segregation, vote your convictions—vote for the Progressive Party, and you MAY win. If you vote for Eisenhower or Stevenson, then no matter which one is elected, you CAN'T win."

Mrs. Bass told how she came disillusioned from Republican and Democratic parties to the PP,

> ". . . where I found for the first time in my life a home big enough for Negro and white to live and work together as equals. Here I sat at the head of the table and helped to build a program for me and my people that came from us."

After the broadcast Hallinan set out for a Mid-west swing that was to include shop-gate meetings at the Plymouth, Dodge, Ford and DeSoto plants in Detroit, in Gary and South Bend, Ind., a mass meeting in Chicago.

Mrs. Bass went to St. Louis where she addressed meetings at Kiel Auditorium, the Ministerial Alliance and the Leonard Baptist Church. In Chicago she spoke to the Baptist Convention, then joined Hallinan at a mass meeting and returned to New York.

WORK CONVENTIONS: Around the country Progressives were rallying in conventions and working conferences. Philadelphia's Peace Convention was slated for the week-end with a Saturday night mass meeting at Town Hall to hear Hallinan and W. E. B. DuBois.

Where and When to Hear PP candidates

	HALLINAN	MRS. BASS
Sept. 12	Pittsburgh	New York
Sept. 13	Philadelphia (Town Hall)	New York
Sept. 14	Boston (State Conv., John Hancock Hall)	Elizabeth, Plainfield, N. J.
Sept. 15	Providence, R. I. (Crown Hotel)	
Sept. 16	Portland, Me.	Baltimore (Oddfellows Hall)
Sept. 17	Massachusetts	Wilmington, Del.
Sept. 18	Connecticut	
Sept. 19	New Haven, Conn.	
Sept. 20-21	(Both at PP National Comm. Meet, Broadwood Hotel, Philadelphia)	
Sept. 22	Louisville, Ky.	
Sept. 23		California tour begins
Sept. 24	New York City (ALP campaign dinner, Hotel Astor)	
Sept. 25	Camden, Lakewood, N. J.	
Sept. 26	Coatesville, Pa.	
Sept. 27	Lehigh Valley, Pa.	
Sept. 29	New York City campaign begins	
Oct. 3		Denver, Colo.

On Sunday both speakers were due in Boston, where the Massachusetts PP was to celebrate its ballot fight victory at a state convention. Saturday night in Trenton the N. J. PP was to turn its state convention into a campaign working conference.

The PP Natl. Committee meanwhile was preparing to gather at Philadelphia's Broadwood Hotel Sept. 20-21. The meeting was ordered at the convention to consider the platform on genocide. Southern delegates, of key importance to the discussion, were expected in strength. California's IPP sent in $200 for delegates' fare from the South challenged other state organizations to match the sum.

Also on the national committee's agenda are the fight for places on the ballot, campaign strategy, finances.

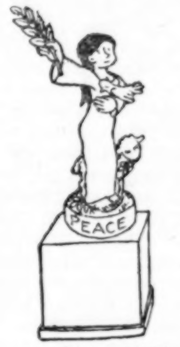
INDIANA VICTORY: The ballot fight last week was victorious in Indiana where the PP topped all expectations, filing 11,000 signatures (7,900 required). Tough hurdle was the state law requiring every canvasser to be a notary public, each paying a $7 fee. Indianans were strired last month when the American Legion at Gary succeeded in denying Mrs. Bass the right to speak in a school auditorium. The ban brought citizens of all parties to Mrs. Bass' defense, led to the forming of rank-and-file free-speech committees among steelworkers, led many to sign petitions.

The PP made the ballot in Kentucky, too, when PP state secy.-treas. Caesar Bell, Louisville chairman Walter E. Barnett and Southern regional director Henry Moss turned in 1,300 signatures at Frankfort (1,000 required). The Ky. PP's emblem is a dove.

To PP doorbell ringers came this tribute in an editorial in the Boston **Chronicle**, Negro weekly:

> A leading clergyman said: "If I had such workers, all my worries over our Fall rally would be ended. . . . It is obvious that, if Negro representation is to be translated from the plane of desire to that of fulfillment, all of us who recognize its importance will have to emulate the zeal of the Peace Progressive Party signature collectors."

MICHIGAN: The Progressive ticket was completed with these nominees: for Mich. Supreme Court, **Morton A. Eden,** former assoc. counsel for the CIO United Auto Workers, who polled 100,000 votes when he ran for the same office in 1949: for Secy. of State, **Mrs. Virginia Glenn,** Negro leader, mother of a Korean war veteran; for State Treas., **Richard Fox,** World War II veteran, former student leader at Michigan State College, now AFL construction worker. For U. S. Congress, Polish newspaper editor **Adam Kujtkowski,** 1st CD; **David R. Luce,** 2nd; **William Glenn,** 5th; **Margaret Nowak,** 16th; **Dwight Todd,** 18th.



Effel in L'Humanite, Paris

Leading state legislative candidates include Negro shopworkers **Doris Lampley** and **Jessie Rutherford** for the Senate; **Ben Kocel, Marx Cooper, Leo Cain** (chairman of FEPC Committee, Dodge Local 3 CIO-UAW) for state rep.

MINNESOTA: Progressives rallied behind one local candidate. The Ninth District Peace Committee sent out this

(Continued on Page 10)

IN THE BALANCE: OUR FOREIGN BORN

The story of Martin Young

THIIRTY-ONE years ago, when relatives brought Martin Young as a 15-year-old orphan from Russia, he "didn't know whether trade unionism, socialism and communism were animal, mineral or vegetable." Whatever education he was to get in the subject was to be here, and it started early. At 17, in New York's garment center, he came upon a picket line which police were attacking; when he went to the aid of a clubbed woman picket he was himself clubbed. That experience, and acquaintances he made that day, led him into life-long activity in the labor movement.

Shortly after his arrival he was assured that an uncle, a professional soldier in the U. S. Marines, had given him derivative citizenship by legally adopting him. Years later, when he took college entrance exams, he learned that certain technicalities had been neglected and he was not a citizen. He tried to become one, but it was too late:

> "I was then already very active in the labor movement and a member of the Young Communist League. I therefore couldn't truthfully answer the $64 question. That is how and why I have not become an American citizen."

NEW DEAL STRUGGLES: But he continued his labor activities, made notable contributions to U. S. social progress. In 1926, becoming active in a Passaic, N. J., woolen workers' strike, he met a young school teacher whose sympathies were with the strikers, later married her. (There are now two sons, Eugene, 10, and Freddie, 4.) By 1931, in the depth of the depression, they lived in Philadelphia. That was the year of great nationwide demonstrations for relief and unemployment insurance—later to become basic U. S. law. Philadelphia's demonstration was in Rayborn Plaza and Martin Young was one of the leaders; he still bears scars from the police clubbing he took that day.

Three years later, in the farm belt through Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska and the Dakotas where the depression was ruining the small farmer, Young helped organize the "farm holiday" movement which halted sheriff's sales, eventually won a moratorium on mortgage foreclosures and brought lasting gains for U. S. farmers.

FOR NEGRO RIGHTS: When the tumultuous organizing drives in basic industries got into full swing in 1936, Young helped build the CIO among steel, glass and aluminum workers in Pittsburgh and in the terror-ridden little towns like Clairton and Duquesne.

MARTIN YOUNG & SON

The scars still show

Back in New York as a Transport Workers Union organizer, he was a leading figure in getting union pres. Michael Quill elected to two terms in the City Council. In World War II he was among those sent to Philadelphia to protect Negro members' rights in an ugly strike in Philadelphia's transportation system—brought about by a dissident group and directed against Negro employes whose jobs had been won by the union—and to guard against disruption of transportation for war workers in the Navy Yard and Arsenal. The strike became an issue in the 1944 election campaign. During the war Young twice volunteered for active service, was twice rejected.

A JUDGE'S WARNING: For these activities, the U. S. Atty. Gen. lists Young today as "a danger to public safety." His punishment has been unique: denial of bail since his deportation-order arrest last Oct. 26; detention on Ellis Island for more than ten months. (The GUARDIAN published his moving "Open Letter from Ellis Island" April 9.) Although some 175 non-citizens are under McCarran Act deportation proceedings, Young's is the only case in which bail has been denied for so long at the Atty. Gen.'s discretion.

A U. S. Appeals Court in February upheld the bail denial in a 2-1 decision, but Circuit Judge Clark's dissent warned:

> . . . Our continued acceptance of bare allegations as to the evil character of a deportee and his Communist ties is surely going to freeze into law the very inviolability of the Atty. Gen.'s power that we are assuming not to be so. The net result is that a person, through this civil process, but without any court review, can be placed in indefinite incarceration—continuous even beyond a final order of deportation in the light of the known unwillingness of other countries to receive these persons; whereas one accused of a like charge by way of criminal indictment is subject to all . . . judicial protection . .

TEST & PROTEST: To the government, Young's is a test case. If it can successfully withhold bail here, then it can proceed similarly against all the foreign-born—non-citizen and naturalized alike—threatened under the present McCarran Act and the new Walter-McCarran Act to take effect Dec. 24. Then the time of the concentration camp will be here, and the native-born will follow the foreign-born.

The American Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born believes this threat can be staved off, and Martin Young released on bail, if enough people protest directly to Atty. Gen. James P. McGranery, Washington, D. C.

W.E.B. DuBois: The Negro vot

IF you should ask the average Negro voter, representing the intelligent "middle-class" artisan, professional man, business man and white collar worker, how he is going to vote next November, he would tell you frankly, if he replied at all, that he really did not know.

He stands today quite flabbergasted. Between the Democrats and Republicans there is no difference so far as his chief interests are concerned: Peace, Civil Rights, FEPC, Suffrage, Education, Taxes. Both parties are pledged to war and cry peace; both are pledged to civil rights and neither will implement that pledge; their reactionary elements will unite against their liberal wings to kill any proposition which looks toward real civil liberty for Negroes.

At the same time President Truman will talk as loudly for a real FEPC as Republican Senator Ives, and neither will act accordingly. Sparkman, who if the Democrats win will preside over the Senate and might even become President, said clearly at Mobile, Ala., on April 17, 1950, that he was one of the Southern Senators

> **". . . banded together and pledged to use every parliamentary device possible to defeat civil rights legislation."**

Nixon, who will be in a similar position if the Republicans win, has supported the filibuster, opposed FEPC and is a McCarthy red-baiter. As presiding officer of the Senate or as President, Nixon would act exactly as Sparkman would.

The candidates for the Presidency will do some slick double-talk to Negroes during the next two months. Both, after having pacified the South with opposition to a national FEPC with teeth and refusal to enact anti-lynching or anti-poll-tax legislation, will express to Negro delegations their deep interest in Negro progress and pious determination to do everything they can for this race. It will be a stout-hearted doubter who will come from the hospitality of such interviews without being convinced that Eisenhower-Stevenson is not his man.

War and jimcrow

ON the matter of Peace, the Negro feels strongly but says little. Our armed forces are still in the main "jim-crowed," and every Negro knows Eisenhower has defended and Stevenson never opposed this policy. There can be no doubt of the heavy incidence of federal war taxation on groups like Negroes who are hard-put to maintaining a decent standard of living on deliberately lowered incomes.

Moreover, this nation today is fighting colored peoples by arms and money in Asia and Africa, and Negroes know this and are ashamed and resentful. They want to get out of all participation in this attempt to reduce colored folk the world over to subordination. This is why they knew that Paul Robeson voiced their thought in Paris in 1949. Last July a South African court sentenced four of the most prominent Negro and Indian leaders to hard labor in jail under the "Suppression of Communism" Act, because

> **". . . it is common knowledge that one of the aims of communism is to break down race barriers and strive for equal rights for all sections of the people, and to do so without any discrimination of race, color or creed."**

In the same way, U. S. Negroes who complain of discrimination and injustice are accused of "communism," while our government loans South Africa $80 million dollars and arranges to furnish them arms, and U. S. banks invest a million dollars in its industry.Our consul-general said in 1950 that South Africa "has a greater future than almost any young country in the world."

Now this is an impasse, and the intelligent Negro voter is completely stymied. The difference between the Democratic and Republican parties so far as his interests are concerned is exactly the difference between tweedledum and tweedledee. On the other hand, as never before the Negro holds the balance of power between the two old parties, and he knows it. He was not deaf nor blind when, in the Democratic convention, the Confederate flag commemorating the War between the Slave States and the Free was openly waved between rebel yells and "Dixie." He saw that the urge toward human slavery was not yet dead in this Free Democracy of the West.

The Republican convention tried desperately to soft-pedal the Negro question. The number of Negro delegates reached a new low by reason of disfranchisement within the party based on disfranchisement in the states, and Negro speakers and even preachers were ignored—a far cry from the day when the Republican convention of 1884 was opened by a black temporary chairman.

The Negro has the power

YET the facts about the Negro vote in 1952 are so clear that despite desperate effort the situation is forcing itself to the front pages of the **New York Times**. Of the 150 million persons in the U. S in 1950, some 97 million will be 21 years of age in 1952; of the nearly 15 million Negroes, over 8½ million will be prospective voters. But this possible voting population of white and black is systematically and deliberately reduced so that few more than half the possible voters appear at the polls. Our voting list is small because we want it small and try to keep it small by law and custom; not only by registration hindrances, poll taxes in six states, and other devices, but because women and Negroes for the most part do not vote.

In 12 former slave states the total population in 1950 was 38,868,000, yet the total vote in 1948 was 5,831,000. In the North and West 40% of the total population actually voted. In the slave South it is only 15%. If we take individual states our democratic methods as interpreted by race hate and caste are even clearer:

W. E. B. DuBOIS

"This year, as never before, there is opportunity . . ."

	% POPULATION VOTING	DISTINGUISHED CITIZENS
Alabama	7%	Sen. Sparkman
Georgia	12%	Rep. Wood, chairman, Un-American Comm., and Gov. Talmadge
Louisiana	15%	Sen. Long
S. Carolina	6%	Gov. Byrnes
Texas	14%	Martin Dies, originator of witch-hunting
Virginia	12%	Sen. Byrd

There are today 4½ million Negroes in the North, 9½ million in the South and a little less than a million in the West. In the North, perhaps 2,750,000 Negroes will vote, mostly in the large cities of Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland and California. These 11 states cast nearly half the electoral votes for President. The difference in the voting strength of the two major parties in these states. varies from zero to four per cent, while the Negro population ranges from three to 16 per cent. Thus the Negro vote here can decide whether Eisenhower or Stevenson will will be our next President.

This the Democrats and Republicans know right well. And they are arranging their campaign accordingly—which involves considerable sums of money to influence Negro opinion; to organize clubs and speaking bureaus; indirectly advise advertisers, influence preachers and to put pressure on employers in federal, state and city service. All this, in these days of hysteria and witch-hunting, will add up. Then there is the political patronage: offices and promises play a large role; today the promise of judicial or foreign service positions is being waved before colored men of prominence.

These influences, by no means confined to Negroes, play a larger part in a group like theirs whose economic foundation is less secure than that of the white population. For such reasons, fears and temptations, a considerab
line up with one or the other of the t
ance with their clear personal interes

In the South there will be a pecu
of Negroes voting will increase:

	TOTAL 1948 VOTE	NEG
Arkansas	242,000	
Alabama	215,000	
Florida	577,000	
Georgia	418,000	
Louisiana	416,000	
N Carolina	791,000	
Oklahoma	721,000	
Texas	1.147,000	
Tennessee	550 000	
S. Carolina	143,000	
Virginia	419,000	

The Negro vote in the South, ho
part registered in the Democratic p
Democratic party. It will thus have n
tial vote unless Dixiecrats again pla
South will eventually depend on the
election.

"Show what dem

FOR all these reasons a large eleme
"straight." But there will be left a
unconcerned, unpledged and unafra
thoughtful men and women who see
make history; to show the civilized
Negro knows what democratic gover
it function; to help change this nat
warmonger of the world into a natio
caste, willing to live in friendship wi

**Moreover, the Negro voter, just
confined to a choice between two p
and associated Republican and Dem
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public opinion through the press, peri
lic platforms, to make the public bel
of the Progressive Party is un-Ame
a party which stands for Negro righ
wealth, and world peace, does not d**

**When the Progressive Party welc
sons of every race and belief, inclu
and Jews; Negroes, Japanese and M
munists and Democrats; because of
"subversive" and every effort made t
having a chance to hear its [illegible]eal
Yet this platform is the mos[illegible]ight
rate this year, and particularly it is a
American Negroes believe in thems
citizens.**

**The Negro must realiize what thir
a democracy. He knows that third
slaves. The Republicans as a third
1860 because the pro-slavery Dixiecr
votes from the Democrats and electe
dent. Another third party in 1892 m
a northern Democrat, winning over t
Populist, Weaver, polled a million vot
Negroes, and more might have been
Movement from 1890 to 1900 not o
suffrage, but finally opposed Negro c**

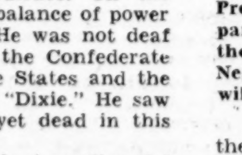
40 years of politic

IT was in the election of 1912 that th
tical maturity. The situation was
had become the football of politics,
and a social outcast despite his des
upward. Theodore Roosevelt had tri
rights, but his luncheon with Booke
blind fury in the South that he aba
role of this race in politics. His chose
cast the Negro quite out of conside
South in his inaugural to appoint n
white approval.

When, later, Roosevelt founded t
sure that here was a chance for the

THE LAW

14 Calif. Smith Act victims out on bail



ALL of the 14 Smith Act victims in Los Angeles were free on bail of $20,000 each last week after twice carrying their fight to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. Following their conviction Aug. 5, Judge William C. Mathes denied them bail pending their appeal on the grounds that there was no substantial question on appeal and that the defendants were likely to flee to Canada or Mexico. The Circuit Court directed U.S. Atty. Walter S. Binns to offer evidence of the defendants' planned flight; he had none. It then ruled that there are substantial questions on appeal and set the bail figure itself.

Mrs. Oleta O'Connor Yates was among ten released by Judge Dave Ling who handled the case during Judge Mathes' vacation; when Mathes returned he ordered Mrs. Yates returned to jail without bail because she is under an extra year sentence for civil contempt for refusing to be an informer on the witness stand.

While the bail fight was going on, the California Federation of Young Democrats, meeting at Stockton, went on record for the repeal of the two sections of the Smith Act under which Communists are now being prosecuted.

NEW YORK TRIAL: The New York trial of 15 Smith Act victims got under way again after a recess caused by a heart attack suffered by 70-year-old defendant Jacob Mindel; a motion for severance of his case is still under advisement. The government was up to its 10th witness, Thomas Younglove of St. Louis, Mo. He admitted on the stand that for three years he had not listed in his income tax money he received as a government informer. He also confessed that he knews nothing of Communist theory; asked if he had made an effort to understand Marxism, he replied: "I never overtaxed myself."

His role, he said, was simply to furnish names to the FBI; he estimated he had turned in more than 500. An earlier witness, William Cummings of Toledo, Ohio, testified that he had recruited relatives to the Communist Party and then reported them to the FBI, freely admitted that he would have reported his own mother if she had joined.

GUS HALL LOSES: A three-year sentence of contempt against Gus Hall for fleeing to Mexico following his Smith Act conviction in 1949 was upheld in a 2 to 1 decision by the U. S. Court of Appeals. It is the first time in the history of English and American jurisprudence that a contempt proceeding has been brought in such a case. The

voter and the 1952 elections

derable number of Negroes will the two main parties, in accord-nterests.

a peculiar situation. The number

NEGROES PROBABLY ELIGIBLE 1952
75,000
45,000
121,000
125,000
95,000
95,000
60,00C
175,000
150,000
100,000
71,000

th, however, will be for the most atic primary and will go to the ave no influence on the Presiden-n play a part. Democracy in the n the Negro vote, but not in this

democracy is"

element of the Negroes will vote left a large core of Negro voters: nafraid; young men with ideals, o see in this election a chance to vilized world that the American government is and how to make is nation from being the leading nation of freedom, without color ip with the world.

, just as the white voter, is not wo political parties as the allied Democratic parties are striving ncerted effort of those who control s, periodicals, broadcasts and pub-ic believe that the very existence n-American and subversive; that rights, broader social control of not deserve support.

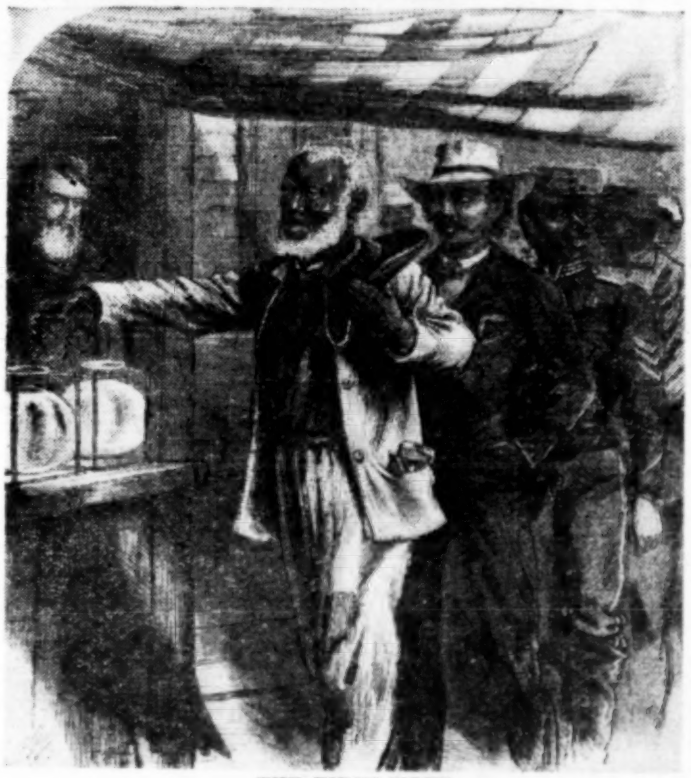
welcomes the support of all per-including Catholics, Protestants nd Mexicans; Republicans, Com-use of this, the party is labeled ade to keep Americans even from peal o vote for its platform. lighte one before the electo-it is a test of the degree to which themselves and their rights as

at third party movements mean in third party movement freed the third party won the election of ixiecrats of that day took 845,000 elected Lincoln a minority presi-892 made possible the election of over the Republicans because the n votes. Many of these came from been attracted, but the Populist not only failed to support Negro gro civil rights.

olitical struggle

hat the Negro tried to reach poli-was difficult. The Negro voter litics, the most exploited worker, s desperate and notable struggle ad tried at first to defend Negro Booker Washington raised such a e abandoned hope of the future chosen successor, Taft, therefore nsideration, promising the white oint no Negroes to office without

nded the Bull Moose Party, I was or the Negro voter. But Roosevelt



THE FIRST VOTE

A drawing from Harper's Weekly *showing a southern polling place in the elections of 1867*

turned his back on me and my plank and threw his influence behind Alton B. Parker and the "lily-whites" of Louisiana; and although he rolled up a vote of four million, he only succeeded in making Woodrow Wilson President.

Many Negroes saw in this election a new opportunity. The Taft Republicans had no use for us. The liberals who followed Roosevelt sympathized, but did not think our support worth alienating the white South. Thereupon a number of Negroes, including a few politicians, a few preachers like Bishop Alexander Walters, and many young radicals like Monroe Trotter and myself, threw ourselves on the mercies of Woodrow Wilson and tried to induce him to make some gesture to show that the Democratic Party would appreciate our support; that the Republicans no longer owned us body and soul. Instead then of following the third party, a large group of us tried to make Negroes vote the Democratic ticket.

It was a tough job. To most Negroes of the older generation, desertion of the party of Lincoln was sacrilege, while support of the "jimcrowing," lynching, disfranchising South was sheer insanity. But we secured from Wilson a written pledge to treat Negroes with justice, "and not mere grudging justice." It was a chance, but many Negroes took it, and perhaps 100,000 Negro votes helped make Wilson President, although he hardly needed them to win.

We lost our gamble. The Wilson administration brought increased discrimination and an extraordinary amount of proposed anti-Negro legislation.

In 1916 Negroes were politically homeless. Hughes would take no stand, and Wilson was silent. In 1920 Negroes rushed to support Harding, not only because of the rumor of his Negro descent, but because of his promise to free Haiti. In 1924 a few Negroes voted for La Follette as I did, but not many. The campaign of 1928 brought such concerted vilification of Negroes, as an echo of the anti-Catholic propaganda and complete surrender of Hoover to the white South, that Negroes of all shades of opinion united in an unprecedented appeal for political justice in "this astonishing campaign of public insult toward one tenth of the nation."

Then came industrial depression and the reign of Roosevelt from 1933 to 1945. The Negro vote swung completely over to the New Deal. They did not get complete justice but they got economic help in their dire distress, a share in effective administration, and unprecedented recognition not only in politics but in the FEPC and in the trade union movement. Landon got no Negro support, and Willkie only small.

And then, in 1948, came Truman. The Progressive Party appealed strongly to Negroes, but Truman took their civil rights program and promised more than he ever meant to fulfil or ever really tried. The bulk of the Negro vote supported him, and, with Dixiecrat opposition, he squeezed through to become a minority President.

The "dilemma" of 1952

NOW comes 1952—and the Negro voter is faced by the greatest dilemma in his political life. Truman is going to repeat his vaudeville act for Negroes, and believes that they are fools enough to fall for him a second time. They are not that dumb, but they ask, what else? The Republicans are ready with money, appointments, and flattering publicity, but also with Nixon, war, and no civil rights.

The first answer to this is, don't vote, stay away from the polls—or confine your vote to local offices. This is silly. It is precisely what every professional politician earnestly prays for. Give the public such small choice that they will not vote, and thus let us nail down our hold on power!

What venal politics and selfish political control fears is the Protest Vote. That spells danger with a big D. If a Third Party in the campaign of 1952 could roll up a minority vote of three or even two million votes, the doom of War and Big Business in power politics would in calculable time be certain. When, then, President Truman weeps crocodile tears over 20 or 30 millions who neglect to vote, he knows perfectly well that they do not vote because they think voting is useless. Nothing would please the anti-Negro forces more than to have the Negro vote stay home next November.

Vote, then, but for whom? In 1928 Negro voters could choose only between the devil of Hoover and the deep sea of Tammany and the South. So today comes the second proposal to Negro voters: "the lesser evil." Vote for Truman, he tried. (Did he?) Vote for Stevenson, he may try. (Will he?) You can't get what you want, therefore settle for what you can get. That is exactly what American prejudice would love to have you do—what it has advised for 75 years. If you follow this path, the Negro American will never reach freedom. He'll always settle for something less.

Can Negro voters fail?

TODAY there is no such necessity. There is the Progressive Party, offering Negroes everything they ask. Reaction, North and South, is scared stiff lest the Negro will have sense enough to accept this offer.

The Progressive Party is pledged to a complete program of civil and economic rights; is headed by a defender of the rights of working people and a Negro woman. At first blush one would say: How can a single Negro voter fail to vote for this party, if only to serve notice on all future parties that if they fail to meet the legitimate demands of Negroes they lose three million votes in the North and West, and eventually five million more in the South when this land becomes a free democracy instead of a fraudulent imitation in 12 states?

Thus for a Negro with ordinary common sense there is no real dilemma in this election. Vote, and vote for the only party which support your just demands. If your position is such that it would be too risky for you publicly to announce your political choice, say nothing and vote secretly, as is your right. You need tell nobody what your choice is. As my dead friend, Henry Hunt, used to say: " I can keep silent in seven different languages."

Moreover, do not stop with your vote for President. See that a Progressive like Marcantonio is returned to Congress. Where there is no Progressive candidate, scan the record of other Congressmen on issues touching you. Grant that the Democrat, Adam Powell, votes right when he votes—but know that most of the time he is not in his seat in Congress, and does not vote at all on anything. Out of 100 chances to vote in 1952 he was present only 44—the worst record of any of the 24 New York congressmen, if not of all members of Congress.

Learn the records of your county, city and local officials; and if a pledged Progressive is not available, do not let a reactionary war-monger and big businessman slip into office over your careless inaction. This year, as never before, the American Negro has opportunity to show the world his political maturity, unafraid of threats even of being called "communist."

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issue is expected to go to the Supreme Court.

Last week the New York State convention of the CIO called for the repeal of the Smith and McCarran Acts as "inimical to American traditions of freedom and democracy."

NELSON TRANSFERRED: In Pittsburgh Steve Nelson, under a sentence of 20 years in prison, a $10,000 fine and a levy of $13,000 for the costs of his trial under a state sedition law, was transferred from the county jail to the Allegheny Workhouse. Denied bail, his original commitment specified that his first year of incarceration should be in the county jail pending his appeal. Spokesmen for Nelson called the sudden transfer vindictive punishment because of the wide support he has received from all parts of the country. In the workhouse his letter-writing and visiting privileges will be sharply curtailed. Nelson, with five others, is also under a Smith Act indictment. He said last week:

> **"My sudden, forceful transfer from the county jail to the workhouse at Blawnox is a move to spike my defense in the coming Smith Act case and to throw every possible obstacle in the way of preparing my defense. . . . I call on on all my friends and all those interested in the cause of peace and the Bill of Rights to rally to my defense and protest this outrageous treatment."**

Jury of Red Trial Holds Picnic

Members of the Criminal Court jury which found Andrew Onda and James Dolsen guilty of sedition a year ago, met Saturday for a picnic and outing at the Oakmont home of Mrs. Emma Haupi, a member.

The various jurors and their husbands or wives, Judge Henry X. O'Brien and Tipstaffs Angelo Costantino and D. H. Rankin enjoyed a picnic dinner at the country home.

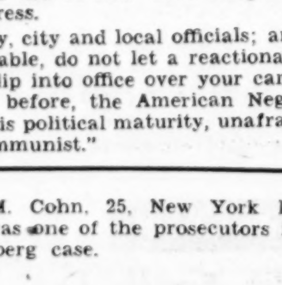
A year ago the same group—minus court officials—had a similar outing, a week before bringing in a guilty verdict.

—Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, **Aug. 26**

MORE WITCH-HUNT: In Washington last week Atty. Gen. J. P. McGranery announced that the U.S. can expect more of the same. The Internal Security Section of the Dept. of Justice will be immediately expanded:

> **"The Communist threat to our democratic form of government and the freedom this government guarantees to all men, remains serious. The expansion of the Internal Security Section will provide still stronger safeguards against this threat."**

As a start, he appointed to the section Roy M. Cohn, 25, New York lawyer who was one of the prosecutors in the Rosenberg case.



IT'LL TAKE MORE THAN A PLUMBER TO FIX THIS

The housing situation in the U.S.A.

By Victor Perlo

GOOD plumbing and a balanced budget are time-honored items in the U. S. standard of living. Both were shown to be half-myth in a picture by govt. statisticians last month.

The Labor Dept. reported that in 1950 the average wage-earning family spent $400 more than it earned; if $10,000-a-year wage earners are excluded from calculations, the rest used up savings or went into debt by 10% of their income. Since 1950 controls on prices and rents in many areas have been lifted, forecasting a more general deficit.

COST OF COLOR: New Census Bureau figures showed that in the metropolis of New York 111,589 dwelling units have no private baths, 112,117 no running water. Of 18,000 units in Harlem:

	1940	1950
Private bath missing or dilapidated	4,175	7,302
No running water	2,229	5,277
More than 1.5 persons to room	1,442	2,084

Segregation showed up clearly in the figures. Of 284 tracts into which the city is divided for census purposes, two-thirds of the non-white population are crowded into 33 tracts. Each of these—the worst-equipped in the city—has more than 90% non-white population. Bad housing exists throughout the city but the over-all picture is fewer whites living in slums than pre-war, more Negroes living in worse slums.

IT'S NICE IN THE HILLS: Across the country the picture hardly changes. Of Los Angeles' 347 census tracts, 28 contain 33,367 of the city's 55,766 non-whites (Mexican-Americans as well as Negroes). Most of these are in a southeast corner where 25% of dwellings are sub-standard (compared to 9% for the whole city), 10% are overcrowded (4% for whole city); yet rents are only $6 per month less than the all-city average including swank Hollywood homes.

THE CAPTION SAID THIS WAS A "HOME"
Three kids, two dogs and one chicken in West Dallas, Tex.

In census tract 187, with over half non-white population, 1,459 of 1,677 units have no private bath or are dilapidated; 28% have more than 1.5 persons to a room. In Hollywood Hills tract 38-B—mainly owned homes averaging $56,801 in value, extending over about the same area as the combined 28 tracts where Negroes predominate—4 of 745 dwelling are substandard; none is overcrowded; 64 are vacant; 1 is occupied by non-whites.

CASH AT WORK: GUARDIAN's Gene Richards wrote from Los Angeles that "the real estate lobby is making the fight of its life to discredit and destroy federally-financed public housing."

Three years ago the City Council, at Mayor Bowron's suggestion, contracted for federal aid to build 10,000 public housing units to replace the slums. A year ago two councilmen tried to abrogate the contract but failed in court action. In last spring's primaries the lobby organized CASH, the Committee Against Socialist Housing, and persuaded a majority of voters to register disapproval of the contract. The courts still hold the federal contract binding. The "housing hassle," as L. A. papers bill it, continues. The slums remain.

ACTION? NOT NOW: Outlook for the ill-housed and those in debt is grim. The Bureau of Labor Statistics said prices are up 15% since early 1950. However, the United Electrical Workers' cost of living index shows 25% rise. UE considers factors BLS leaves out: increased federal taxes, costs of home ownership, prices of less expensive home items. BLS also manipulates prices downward, UE claims.

BLS figures are used to reckon cost-of-living increases under escalator clauses in trade union contracts. On that basis auto workers recently received a 3c-an-hour increase. Under UE calculations it should have been 5c. But as Arthur Eggleston noted in the N. Y. **Compass** (8/19):

> **The Congressional committee which investigated the BLS was the anti-labor House Labor Committee. Nothing came of the hearings. Any real appraisal of charges that BLS figures are mulcting workers of billions of dollars a year will have to wait for less biased investigators.**

Make them whole again — give these children their daddy

FOR almost a year now, Gene and Freddie Young have been without their daddy. On October 26, 1951, more than 10 months ago, their father was arrested and taken to Ellis Island for deportation to Russia because he had been a member of the Communist Party.

Gene is 10 and often asks his mother, Fannie, why what he learns in public school about freedom and democracy doesn't apply to his dad who's been his pal as well as father.

Little Freddie, who's only four, just doesn't know why his father's not able to come home. On one of his infrequent visits to see his father, he said to the guards when leaving Ellis Island, "My daddy's not sick. Why must he stay here?"

WHY must Martin Young stay on Ellis Island?

Martin Young is on Ellis Island today because the Attorney General has decreed he shall not be granted bail. The right to bail—a constitutional guarantee—no longer is an automatic right. For non-citizens, facing deportation, the Attorney General says who shall have bail and who shall not. With concentration camps springing up around the nation, one of the easiest ways to fill them will be simply denying bail pending the final outcome of any case.

DENIAL of bail to Martin Young sets a serious precedent. Already more than 175 non-citizens have had deportation proceedings initiated against them. If Martin Young can be denied bail pending the final outcome of his deportation proceedings, the same can be done to the 175.

More than that, however, is the fact that when Congress overrode the Walter-McCarran Bill veto in June, it opened the floodgate for mass arrests of non-citizens in deportation proceedings.

There are three million non-citizens in the United States. So broad and sweeping are the terms of the Walter-McCarran Law any non-citizen can be victimized. Deportation proceedings are long and drawn out. Sometimes they take years. While 175 are immediately in danger of definite imprisonment through denial of bail, three million are potential victims of arrests, deportation proceedings, and concentration camp imprisonment while the Department of Justice weighs their cases.

THIS is the meaning of denial of bail to Martin Young. He is the first but, by the Immigration and Naturalization Service's own admission, thousands are to follow soon.

MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TODAY TO HELP WIN BAIL FOR MARTIN YOUNG. YOUR CONTRIBUTION WILL BE USED TO SHOW THE AMERICAN PEOPLE JUST HOW DENIAL OF BAIL TO MARTIN YOUNG TODAY SPELLS BULGING CONCENTRATION CAMPS TOMORROW.

A campaign is planned to reach 8,000,000 people. Your contribution will help make that possible.

HELP GIVE GENE AND FREDDIE THEIR FATHER
HELP DEFEAT THE CONCENTRATION CAMP POLICY

Gene and Freddie Young
P. O. Box 102
Hamilton Grange Station
New York 31, New York

Dear Gene and Freddie:

I want you to know that I'm helping bring your daddy back to you.

Here's $.......... to help your daddy's committee continue its work.

NAME ....

ADDRESS ....

CITY .... **ZONE** ...... **STATE** ....

Make checks payable to: Comm. for the Freedom of Martin Young

Strike leaders defy Un-AAC in Chicago

INTERNATIONAL Harvester Corp.'s contract with the United Electrical Workers was first due to expire last June; the House Comm. on Un-American Activities scheduled hearings for Chicago for that time. When the contract was extended, the hearings were postponed. Last week, with 30,000 Harvester workers on strike (see right), the hearings were on. To the strikers, the timing was devious. Some 20 union officials, including the top strike leaders, were under subpena. Others were officers of the United Packinghouse Workers, now fighting for an improved contract.

The committee got off to a noisy start; it was met at the Federal Bldg. by a large and vocal picket line which eventually entered the building, filled the second-floor corridors, pounded on the doors of the closed hearing room, for a half-hour drowned out the testimony of an informer by singing "Solidarity Forever."

NOT TALKING: UE leaders Ernest DeMaio, Grant Oakes, Gerald Fielde, DeWitt Gilpin, Francis McBain and John T. Bernard all refused to answer committee questions about their political affiliations and denounced the hearings as a strikebreaking effort. Oakes, Fielde and Gilpin were eventually excused when they insisted on returning to their strike duties, but were ordered to be in Washington Oct. 16 for further questioning. In a joint statement they called the hearing

> . . . part of a plot to label as treason the advocacy of a higher standard of living. This is the third Harvester strike that this Committee has tried to break. . . . There is nothing American about this Committee. It is as un-American as the Taft-Hartley Law, the poll tax, and the Ku Klux Klan.

Leon Beverly, Negro president of Packinghouse Local 347, told the Committee:

> "Go look for un-Americans in the Ku Klux Klan."

Sam Parks, head of the Chicago Negro Labor Council, also refused to answer questions, denounced the Committee for its anti-Negro bent.

THEY LIKE IT: The Harvester Corp. sent a letter to all its striking employes denying that it had brought the Committee to Chicago but adding:

> In general we favor investigations such as the Committee makes, including this one.

To Gov. Adlai Stevenson went a telegram from the Chicago Trade Union Defense Comm. (Grant Oakes, chmn.):

> By its actions throughout past history and especially in this instance the Committee has thoroughly proved itself to be an outright strikebreaker agency. . . . We vigorously oppose use of this Committee as an anti-union, anti-strike weapon to serve Harvester, packing and other industry heads.
>
> We urge you to use your high office as Governor and influence as a Presidential candidate to invite the strike-breaking Committee to leave Chicago and Illinois.

COLOSSAL SHOW: The Committee's biggest road-show yet is scheduled for Los Angeles beginning Sept. 29. Some 115 persons are under subpena there in a variety of fields: movies, radio, law medicine, journalism and trade unions. Latest to be served was Ben Margolis, chief counsel in the Los Angeles Smith Act trial. Said he:

> "This Committee will fry in hell before they get what they want from me."

Union under fire

Sen. Pat McCarran's (D-Nev.) judiciary subcommittee released a report on the independent Distributive, Office & Processing Workers of America; recommended strengthening of McCarran's own anti-labor laws; turned the hearings transcript over to the Atty. Gen. for possible perjury charges against the union's officers.

Hearings were held over a year's period in many parts of the country. In Memphis, Tenn., where many witnesses were Negro, sessions were particularly marked by intimidation and trickery on the part of the subcommittee, the transcript showed. (More details in next week's GUARDIAN.)

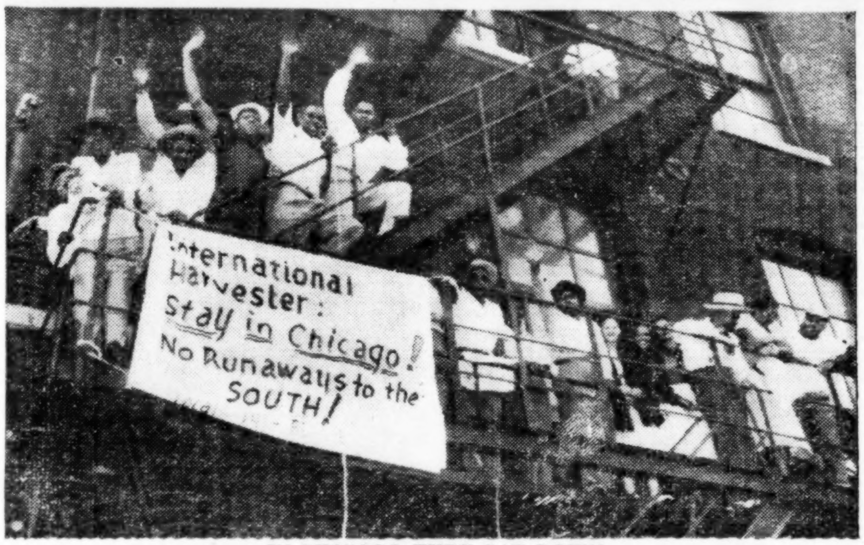
LABOR

Harvester girds for war; so does union

INTERNATIONAL Harvester Corp., worldwide farm equipment monopoly, dickers profitably with Peron in Argentina, with the British in East Africa, controls its field in Canada, Brazil, Uruguay, New Zealand, Cuba, Switzerland, Mexico, the Philippines. But labor costs, its latest interim report tells stockholders, have cut into its profits ($63,001,000 after taxes in 1951, $55,679,000 in 1948.) Throughout the empire, labor costs are highest on the home grounds, Chicago.

Last month the corporation opened an offensive. First skirmish was at the Twine Mill plant in Chicago which the company prepared to move to a cheap-labor area in the South, tossing 965 workers, mostly Negro, out of work. The 50-year old plant makes four times the profits it made 6 years ago; in the first half of 1952 netted $17.5 million.

When the company began dismantling the mill, the workers staged the nation's first sit-down strike since CIO's early days. Police arrested 141; trial was set for Oct. 15. Gov. Stevenson, despite promises, has not yet intervened. The plant itself is shut down ostensibly for vacations.


International Harvester: Stay in Chicago! No Runaways to the SOUTH!

IN CHICAGO THEY SAT DOWN

Workers in Intl. Harvester's twine mill had this to say as the company—with profits five times higher than pre-war—dismantled machinery to move to New Orleans and cheap labor (GUARDIAN, Aug. 14).

"GETTING TOO MUCH": In company-wide contract renewal negotiations under way with the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers (ind.) since last May, the company demanded a free hand on speed-up and reclassifications. On Aug. 19, one day before the old contract expired, the company showed what it meant by reclassification. It notified thousands they had been getting up to 70c an hour too much according to new downgrading, could expect no merit or other increase no matter what contract was signed. On Aug. 20 30,000 UE workers in 10 key Harvester plants in Illinois and Ohio voted to strike and two days later walked out. UE demands, which the company refused to discuss, are:

> 15¢-an-hour raise: elimination of wage inequities; guarantees against speed-up; job safeguards for Twine Mill workers, rescinding downgrading order amounting to wage cuts; plans for pensions, better working conditions and grievance procedure.

Strike bulletins reported: no production, no scabs, heavy police turnout, a company declaration that plants were open for those who "want to work." UE's Harvester Conference Bd. warned:

> There is every indication Harvester is planning a long, bitter, starveout fight to smash the union, complete with police brutality where they can get it, injunction law, scabherding and the un-American Committee's red-howling circus.

The "circus" referred to the Chicago opening of the House Un-American Activities Comm. which subpenaed union leaders at a critical point in negotiations, seemed likely to serve as the company's heaviest artillery. (See story in col. 1).

CAREY'S GOONS COULDN'T WIN

The heroes of E. Pittsburgh

By Helen Scott

PITTSBURGH, PA.

ON an August night in the East Pittsburgh Valley, a band of drunken men in white caps armed with broken bottles and brass knuckles stormed into an office. Yelling "Save Jesus Christ—sweep the Valley clean!", they savagely swung into a small group of men and women, smashing furniture, overturning and wrecking equipment and records.

It was James B. Carey's way of "celebrating" his victory over the United Electrical Workers in the NLRB election that night in the E. Pittsburgh Westinghouse plant. The vote: UE, 4,825—Carey's IUE-CIO, 6,781.

THE SPLIT—& SINCE: I had come to this valley in the heart of the steel, coal and electrical industries four months before to participate in UE's campaign for an NLRB election among the E. Pittsburgh plant's workers. UE had originally organized its 13,000 workers, helped them win the outstanding contract in heavy industry, held bargaining rights for 15 years.

But in 1950, Westinghouse—with the aid of witch-hunting committees, the Cvetics and Musmannos—split the ranks of its workers, bringing IUE-CIO into the plant by a 100-vote majority out of 13,000 cast. Since then, the workers had seen their grievance procedure sold down the river, and by now were clamoring for an end to their open shop conditions and a return to the principled, fighting union they had known in the past.

BATTLE JOINED: Pittsburgh was like a battlefield when I arrived. Big Business had launched its "get tough with labor" drive here, first of all. In Braddock, Turtle Creek, Homestead, Homewood, East Pittsburgh, Duquesne, Lawrenceville, tens of thousands of steel, furniture, brewery, bakery and electrical workers were out on the bricks, defending their union contracts and fighting for improved working conditions. "Dad and young Tom are both on strike now," I heard a woman tell her grocer.

TOM FITZPATRICK

You'll find him in the shop

In Westinghouse's Nuttall plant at Lawrenceville, 475 men had just struck to protect their union contract and protest the company's arbitrary cuts of their job earnings. The giant Westinghouse corporation had thrown every weapon in its arsenal against them: Carey, scabs, cops and horses. The pickets stood up to them all.

TENSION & WHISPERS: The solidarity of the railroad men, steel workers, coal miners, the women of Lawrenceville, the support of all UE locals throughout the country—these are a few of the reasons why Westinghouse's Nuttall plant is still shut tight.

In E. Pittsburgh the IUE-CIO leaders had allowed Westinghouse to destroy the workers' seniority protections by installing occupational seniority in the plant. The workers voiced their protest by contributing over $3,000 to the Nuttall strikers in plant gate collections. But an IUE-CIO whispering campaign claimed that a UE victory in E. Pittsburgh would mean an immediate and prolonged strike.

At the same time, the company acted to increase tensions throughout the plant by shipping work that had long been done in E. Pittsburgh to its unorganized plants in the South, and by furloughing thousands of workers.

UE MUST REMAIN: Faced with these pressures, the workers cast their ballots Aug. 21 in the NLRB election.

That night, while we awaited the final results, the doors suddenly burst open and into the hall piled the IUE strongmen. There was fighting and bloodshed, and the goons had their moment—but the guts of the men and women who stood up to them is all that one will remember.

The real story came next day when workers from every part of the plant poured in to help pick up the debris and set the office in order again. Whatever their vote the day before, all the workers in the Valley wanted that office to remain there. For UE is the symbol now—as it has been for 15 years—of their united stand against the company, of the pent-up anger against Westinghouse's program of cutting time values, lowering job classifications and re-establishing foreman favoritism by use of occupational seniority.

PEOPLE WITH GUTS: A fight is always the people in it. Like Tommy Flanagan, Pete Paine, Ella Piazza, Carl Bolyer, Tom Quinn, George Matuzak, Porter Mechling, and Frank Panzino, for instance. Or Tom Fitzpatrick, who for over a decade was UE's chief steward in the E. Pittsburgh plant—one of the men whose guts and fight in the open shop days brought a union into the Valley. If you want to find Tom, you have to go into the shop—for he has never left it. I never heard him make a "speech," or ask the men and women to believe something is true because he says it is; he just recalls the facts they know, says what they really think.

At the end of the campaign the Negro workers came out for UE's program for unity to halt the rate cuts, downgrading, and the seniority-destroying program of the company. In them, as in Tom, is the sure conviction that unity is what licks a company. Carey's program of hidden support to the company and open support to reaction must, sooner or later, come into head-on opposition with that reality and the men and women who know it first-hand.

(Continued from Page 5)

appeal for Democratic-Farmer-Labor Congressional candidate **Lorimer G. Torgerson:**

> **We here in the 9th District are small and poor farmers and cannot hope to match our opposition with funds. . . .So send whatever you can and if you have neighbors or friends who are willing to fight for peace and justice for the people in general, see them as well. Even if they cannot send any money, write to us at least and give us your moral support.**

CALIFORNIA: At Hidden Valley Ranch, Los Altos, Labor Day festivities launched the campaign of **Betsy K. Fisher,** IPP housewife running for Congress from the 10th CD. On hand was Senate candidate **Reuben Borough,** "inevitable alternative" to Sen. Knowland, China lobby man running on both Republican and Democrat tickets.

The 10th CD race is significant statewide. Covering Santa Clara, Santa Cruz and San Benito counties, the district is primarily agricultural with newly-developed industries in some areas, a population mainly of Italian descent but including Negroes and people of Latin American, Japanese, Yugoslav and Portuguese ancestry. Since 1938 it has been represented by John Z. Anderson, running on both Republican and Democratic votes, chalking up a consistently anti-labor, anti-farmer, anti-minority voting record. In 1948 and 1950 IPP candidates opposed him, polling one fifth of the vote. This year, with Anderson retiring, Mrs. Fisher will run against GOP's Charles S. Gubser, "garlic king of Santa Clara," who in the state assembly voted against a state FEPC, for loyalty oaths; and the Democrats' A. L. Johnson, machine-backed lawyer.

Mrs. Fisher's campaign got under way in August with a talk on candidates' night before the Palo Alto League of Women Voters and the McLain Pension organization where she was the only Congressional candidate invited.

A Los Angeles GUARDIAN reader reported this press coverage of the IPP's Culver City meeting where 10,000 came to hear Hallinan and Mrs. Bass Aug. 27:

> **The Mirror: 2 inches on p. 51; the Herald-Examiner: only a picture of some teenagers who created a scene after the meeting; the News: 2 inches on p. 41.**

BETSY K. FISHER
In California's 10th C. D.

Howard Fast runs for Congress in New York

AT a press conference on Monday ALP chairman Vito Marcantonio announced the candidacy of Howard Fast for Congress from the 23rd C. D. in the East Bronx. World-famous novelist, pamphleteer, long-time target of witch-hunters, Fast will run for office—for the first time in his life—from ALP's strongest district in the state, which in Feb., 1948, sent ALP's Leo Isacson to Congress. His opponents: incumbent Isidore Dollinger (D.), Sidney S. Flaum (R.), Harry Kavesh (Lib.).

The 23rd is solidly working-class, roughly 70% of Jewish descent, 20% Puerto Rican. Local issues, Fast said, are housing, mainly for Negro and Puerto Rican families, roll-back to pre-Korea prices, end to the wage freeze. Fast said he would stress the ALP-PP peace platform for an end to the Korean war now wiith discussion of the POW issue later by civilian commissions, an end to the rearmament of Germany.

CP drafts platform, names candidates

WHILE Congressional committees and "red underground" experts continued to comb the bushes for communists, the Communist Party called a public election rally last week in Harlem's Rockland Palace, drafted a platform, named candidates for public office, broadcast speeches of one candidate and in behalf of another. The big press, invited to view the CP in action, ignored it.

The platform, after outlining an immediate domestic and economic program, advocated a socialist America although this was called "not an immediate issue before the people." It called for

> **. . . a new people's coalition based on a great, national political realignment that will elect a government committed to the maintenance of peace and democracy. Such a people's coalition will and must grow out of the political struggles of today and tomorrow—out of the inevitable disillusionment with and mass breakaway from the two old parties; out of the heroic work of the Progressive Party and its courageous standard bearers, Vincent Hallinan and Charlotta Bass; out of the struggle of the labor movement; out of the struggles of the Negro people for first-class citizenship; and, above all, out of the fight to return our nation to the policies of peace, a struggle that can unite the overwhelming majority of our people across all existing party lines. . . . We seek no special position within such a great democratic anti-war, anti-fascist, anti-monopoly coalition and will, of course, oppose any discriminaton against us because of our socialist aims.**

ABOVE GROUND—IN JAIL: CP candidates include Benjamin J. Davis, former New York City councilman now in Terre Haute prison as a result of Smith Act prosecution of top CP leaders, for N. Y. state assemblyman from the 11th A. D. More than 3,000 nominating signatures were turned in for Davis, twice the required amount, along with 15,000 signatures to an amnesty petition.

Other candidates: Simon Gerson, currently on trial under the Smith Act, for Congress from Brooklyn; Otis Hood for the Mass. state legislature; E. C. Greenfield for governor of Ohio; Gus Hall, also imprisoned under the Smith Act, for state senator in Ohio.

Bridges appeal lost; high court next

THE convictions of Harry Bridges, J. R. Robertson and Henry Schmidt, international officers of the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, will be appealed to the American people and the Supreme Court, attorneys for the three said last week.

Commenting on the San Francisco appeals court decision last week to sustain their conviction for perjury in connection with Bridges' citizenship application, ILWU atty. Norman Leonard posed the question whether there is one law for Bridges and another for other citizens. To reach its decision, said George Anderson, another ILWU atty.,

> **. . . the court had to ignore previous decisions in identical cases by at least two other Circuit Courts, in New York and in the District of Columbia. In the cases of Michael Obermeier and Carl Marzani, the respective Circuit Courts of Appeal threw out counts of alleged perjury on the grounds that the statute of limitations had expired.**
>
> **The Ninth Circuit Count here merely says that it "disagrees" with the other two circuit courts. This alone should guarantee a writ of certiorari by the U. S. Supreme Court, which is charged with making clear what intrepretations of the law the courts should follow.**

In a statement released on behalf of himself and co-defendants, ILWU pres. Bridges said:

> **When this case began it was an attack upon the union and its strength and unity, which have brought about some of the best wages and working conditions in the country for its members. . . . There was never any conspiracy or crime committed. There was opposition by the union to accepting economic and political dictation from politicians and labor leaders in Washington.**
>
> **This latest step in the continuing anti-union persecution will not cause the union to knuckle under to to change its program of following independent economic and political policies as determined by vote of its membership.**

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CALENDAR

Los Angeles

TODAY'S NEWS ANALYZED with discussion in town meeting tradition. **MARTIN HALL,** every Monday night at ASP Council, 7410 Sunset, 8 p.m. GR 4188. Don.: 60c.

EVERYBODY'S GOING TO THE PICNIC of the Labor League for Peace, Sun., Sept. 21, Croatian-American Center, 330 S. Ford Blvd. All day. Delicious foods at popular prices. Games, sports, square dancing. Adm. 60c Children free.

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CONSTITUTION DAY RALLY for repeal of Smith and McCarran Acts, for amnesty for political prisoners. Wed., Sept. 17. Featured speaker: Mrs. Margaret Nelson. Prince Hall, Masonic Temple, 188 Belmont Av. Auspices: New Jersey CRC.

Chicago

NEAR NO. SIDE honors **CHARLES ALEXANDER** with buffet and dance. Collins Inn, 365 W. Oak St., Sat., Sept. 13. $1.50 donation includes supper. 8:30, dancing and entertainment, 10 p.m. Oscar Brown Jr., M. C.

DANCE OF THE MONTH! Featuring A.S.P-Revue—A Roll Call of Chicago's Top Talent. Sat., Sept. 13, Packinghouse Center, 4859 S. Wabash. Donation $1. Auspices: Chicago Council of A.S.P.

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New York

HEAR CORLISS LAMONT, ALP candidate for Senate —"PEACE IS ON THE BALLOT." Thurs., Sept. 18, 8:15 p.m., American Labor Party, 28 Greenwich Av., near W. 10th St. Question period. Admission free.

GREET Mrs. Harisiades and Mrs. Martin Young at reception and concert, Sat., Sept. 13, 8:30 p.m., at Brighton Center, 3200 Coney Island Av., B'klyn. Hear Martha Schlamme, folk singer; Leon Bibb, concert tenor; Sergei Matusevich, concert accordionist. Tickets $1.20 in advance, $1.50 at door. National Women's Appeal, 23 W. 26th St., N. Y. C.

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MRS. CHARLOTTA A. BASS will speak at the **Odd Fellows Hall,** Lanvale & McCulloh, Tues., Sept. 16, 8:15 p.m. Admission 35c, unemployed—no charge.

Trenton

PEACE & CIVIL RIGHTS RALLY. Speakers: Marcantonio & Rev. Edward McGowan; also dramatic act with Morris Carnovsky and Howard DaSilva; and Quaker Peace Film "A Time for Greatness," Sat. eve., Sept. 13. (Movie starts 7:30 p.m.). Hotel Hildebrecht, Trenton. Adm. 60c, including tax.

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Calif. judge blasts 'courtroom hysteria'

ABRAHAM ISSERMAN and George Crockett Jr., two of five attorneys sentenced for contempt for their defense of 11 Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act in 1949, completed their jail terms last month. Both served four months.

The two will be main speakers at a Citizens Emergency Defense Comm. banquet (Hotel McAlpin, Sept. 18) for the four attorneys—Mary Kaufman, John T. McTernan, Frank Serri, James Wright—currently defending 15 CP leaders under Smith Act charges in New York. Yale Prof. Thomas I. Emerson will be chairman; other speakers will include Dr. Royal W. France, who recently returned to active law practice after years of retirement to defend Smith Act victims in Baltimore, and CEDC head Clifford McAvoy.

A JUDGE PROTESTS: As the two lawyers were completing their prison terms, Jesse W. Carter, a justice of the California State Supreme Court, had a few words to say about contempt sentences imposed on lawyers representing unpopular causes. Speaking to 225 prominent attorneys and judges at a Natl. Lawyers Guild lunch in Los Angeles, he decried "the hysteria which seems to have pervaded many court-rooms."

Judges who invoke their power to punish for contempt, he said, "act as prosecutor, judge, jury, injured party":

> "To play so many roles at one time would tax the ability and integrity of a superman."

Haywood Patterson

FEW men could have survived the brutality, the vindictive and ceaseless persecution that scarred the life of Haywood Patterson, best-known of the nine Scottsboro youths arrested a quarter-century ago on an Alabama "rape" charge and saved from execution by worldwide protests. But even Patterson's unquenchable will to survive, his steel determination never to buckle before his tormentors, finally succumbed to an enemy with which he could not cope: on Friday, Aug. 22, he died of cancer in Michigan's state penitentiary at Jackson.

Patterson, after being twice doomed to death, eventually was sentenced to 75 years in Alabama. He escaped in 1948; hiding out in New York City, he collaborated with Earl Conrad in writing the horror story of his life, **Scottsboro Boy** (GUARDIAN, 6/14/50). After its publication he moved to Detroit where relatives lived; he was arrested as a fugitive. Gov. Williams refused to extradite him, but police continued to hound him. In 1950 six men assaulted him in a tavern. One died and Patterson was given a 6- to 15-year sentence for manslaughter on a charge he called a frame-up. The state parole board refused him a medical discharge even after it was known he was doomed by cancer.

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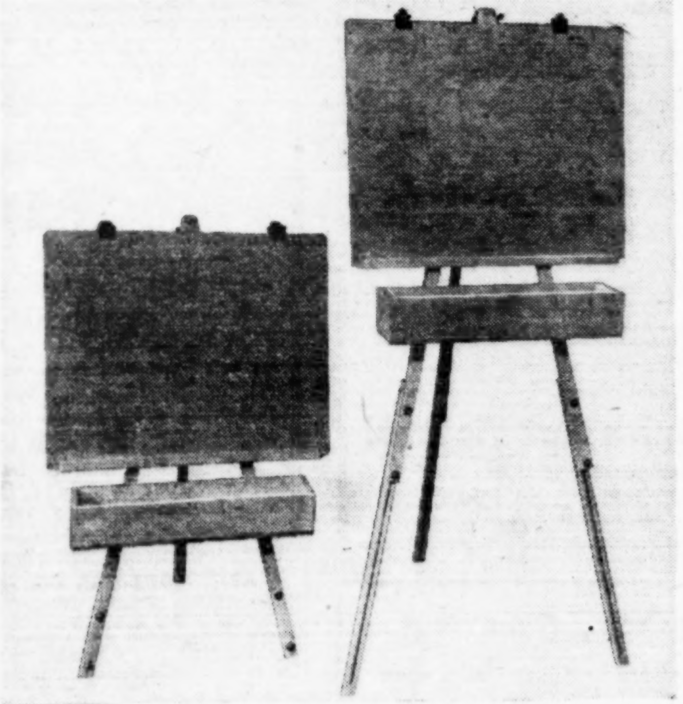

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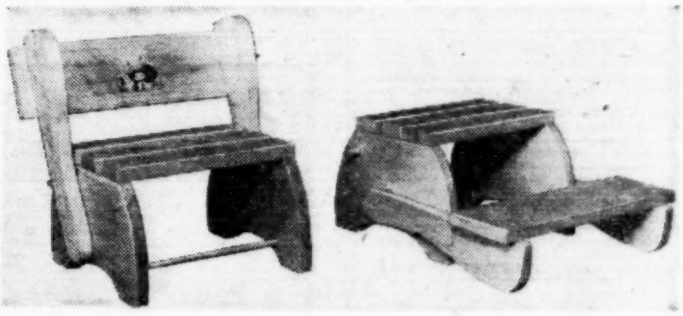

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BOOKS The secret of youth

By Cedric Belfrage

THE story of men and women who devote decades to acquiring wealth and power and, when it is too late, offer their all for the secret of youth and contentment, is perennially familiar. In W. E. B. DuBois' new book **In Battle for Peace—the Story of My 83rd Birthday,** the secret is unveiled for those who can see it and the price of continuing youth is quoted for those who will pay it.

The secret is that there is no standing still: no stage in life where, if a person does not grow, he will not begin to fossilize. In terms of a bank account the price of continued growth is high, but in terms of what are finally seen to be the vital factors, not as high as fossilization. Dr. DuBois tuned himself in to the life-giving electrical charge passing to him from all humanity, transmitted it back and on as part of the circuit, and continually pushed wider open the door between him and his neighbor. The strength he thus obtained eliminated fear; fear is aging.

THIS IS A MAN: The result is a truly civilized man in a time when the very word, as we daily meet with it in "Western civilization," has become a mockery. This book is evidence enough—even if there were not 15 others and a lifetime of distinction in journalism, science, the humanities and politics—that the finest qualities a human being can possess are blended in him: strength with sensitivity, dignity with modesty, intellect with common sense, uncompromising honesty with that deep-rooted wit and humor which are inseparable from the world-view of the most mature.

Leaders and notables everywhere have lauded him to the skies. Telling here how he was tried as a criminal for advocating peace, he is able to quote dozens of these statements with a recurring irony which reminds the reader that actions don't always match words, and that this society which has so praised and so reviled him is, for the wise, immensely amusing as well as tragic. Typical of his attitude toward fair-weather friends is his chapter on the man who first invited him to a meeting out of which the Peace Information Center was born, then became the government's chief witness to "prove" it was in fact a "foreign agent." The chapter is called: "Oh! John Rogge." The last sentence is:

> **And so in my mind—I trust not unjustly—to Wallace the Weasel I now add, Rogge the Rat.**

"WE ARE FREE, BUT . . .": Dr. DuBois is constitutionally unable to lose hope, but some of his conclusions are bitter. He writes:

> **Despite this [the knowledge of leading American intellectuals that democracy cannot survive unless the right to think and speak survives], most Americans of education and stature did not say a word or move a hand. This is the most astonishing and frightening result of ths trial. We five are free but America is not. The absence of moral courage and intellectual integrity which our persecution revealed still stands to frighten our own nation and the better world.**

For most American progressives who will never be able to meet Dr. DuBois personally, this book is the next best thing: glowing through every line are not only his qualities as a man which do our whole movement and especially his own people such honor, but his warmly beautiful style as a writer. There are so many noteworthy passages that we will hope to publish a selection in a later issue of the GUARDIAN. But it should be added that readers will also have the privilege of getting acquainted with Dr. DuBois' distinguished wife Shirley Graham, who has contributed her own footnotes on the events of the year in which she married him and stood beside him through the persecution.

FOUNTAIN FLOWS ON: Some day, of course, Dr. DuBois will be the subject of obituaries in our press. And when one reads in this book how the Voice of America broadcast as proof of the encouragement of Negro culture the news of a concert sponsored by the Council on African Affairs, which the Atty. Gen. had just placed on the "subversive" list, one can be doubly sure what the obits will be like. They will play down DuBois' "subversive" ideas and connections and extol "the American way" for the wonderful opportunities it affords its Negro citizens to achieve world renown.

The pity of it is—and I think Dr. DuBois would agree with me—that he will not be around with his smooth but devastating wit to write another book about the last celebration in his honor and what everyone said about it. But that day is distant, and meanwhile the fountain of inspiration from this timeless, universal personality flows as abundantly as ever. I cannot believe that after drinking this liberal new draught of it, progressives will be able to rest before they have made a reality of the plan to re-publish the entire work of W. E. B. DuBois.

IN BATTLE FOR PEACE, by W. E. B. DuBois. Masses & Mainstream, 832 Bway., N.Y.C. 192 pp. $1.

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